

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
HENRY THE SECOND,
AND OF
RICHARD and JOHN, his SONS;

With the EVENTS of the Period, from 1154 to 1216.

In which the Character of THOMAS A BECKETT is vindicated from the Attacks of
~~GEORGE~~ LORD LYTTELTON.

Ut nihil nimiè, nihil nisi verè dicatur.

WIL. MALME

By the Rev^d. JOSEPH BERTINGTON.

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T O

The Right Hon. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

SIR,

JUST emerged from the view of times, to which modern vanity has imputed a peculiar darkness, it was natural, I should turn my eyes to the living characters of this island, that, by comparison, I might establish their relative excellence, weighing manners with manners, and men with men. That the result was favourable to my own days, it is unnecessary to say. Yet then there were statesmen of great political sagacity; patriots to whom their country was dear; soldiers who nobly fought her battles; and churchmen of disinterested virtue. The candor of your mind will readily admit more than this. And where I have exhibited the imperfect state of things, particularly of our political government, I trust, your knowledge of the subject will justify the statement, and clear me from the charge of an unfounded theory.

It is on Runnemede, Sir, that I wish to meet you, the sacred field of liberty! And if you but approve the spirit with which I led the barons to it, I shall think my labour has been repaid. But whatever may have been my enthusiasm,

I was

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I was patient, I know, in the enquiry, and accurate to a scrupulous precision. On that spot, where the language of flattery would not find utterance, I shall be permitted to say, that there lives one modern patriot at least, in competition with whom, the barons of those days were but puny men. Nature endowed him with splendid talents, and blessed him with a heart, comprehensive, generous, manly, and sincere. His talents he gave to his country, and his heart to his friends. Animated by a laudable ambition, and the love of generous praise, we have seen him the darling of the people; and, as the tide of royal favour flowed, we have seen him in the possession of power, and sharing in the duties of a mighty empire. But neither to power, nor party, nor wealth, nor the smiles of favour, have we seen him sacrifice the great interests of honour and integrity. True to this level, he deemed no preferment worth the surrender of character; or thought that the fame of a statesman stood in need of insincere professions, and the frothy testimonies of duplicity. On a late occasion, when it was vainly clamoured that danger threatened the constitution, we beheld that same patriot, solicited even by those who had been his enemies, come forward the avowed champion of unrestrained toleration, and of the sacred rights of conscience.

It has, for some time, been the fashion with courtiers, and with priests, and with men of irritable minds, whom some jealousy, perhaps, has warped, to decry the politics of France, as originating in the basest designs, and as supported by measures, which tyranny only, and the worst passions of the heart can patronise. This is not the language of cool discernment, which weighs the process of events while they proceed, through inevitable confusion and the strife of jarring interests, to a consummation, it may be presumed, that shall secure the rights of men, break the arm of despotism, and give liberty to millions. The darkness which clouds the view will be dissipated, as the teeming plan shall be developed. But this may be asserted, that, had the counsels of such men been listened to as I have mentioned, the mad career of John had never been resisted; no Magna Charta had graced the annals of the thirteenth century; and the constitution of these realms, by bold and reiterated efforts, had not yet been formed. We are in possession, Sir, of your sentiments, ever dictated by the same free, unvarying, and comprehensive views.

But even in this island, Sir, exists a proscribed society, whom neither popular hatred, nor the malevolence of bigotry, nor the rigour of persecuting statutes, have been able

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able to annihilate. Their ancestors were the men who once brought glory and freedom to the land; their principles grew with its growing greatness, cementing the political fabric as it rose; and their church was, for ages, as it is now styled, its essential and indissoluble partner. This society, as the storm, they trust, is over, looks ardently to the restoration of their rights, and to the common privileges of men. But they are withheld; and a wretched policy still dictates, that the prosperity and strength of Britain shall depend on the disunion of its members, and that partial favours shall best secure the good-will of all. Sir; it is reserved, perhaps, for you, when the country shall again possess your services, to remove the stain of intolerance from her name, and yourself to become, what to a great mind is the noblest triumph, the protector of the oppressed, and the restorer of the insulted honour of the English Catholics.

With the greatest respect,

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And humble servant,

JOSEPH BERINGTON.

Oscott, near Birmingham,

April 6, 1790.

P R E F A C E.

THE History I now offer to the public, may be considered, in one sense, as a continuation of the *History of the Lives of Abeillard and Heloisa*, which I published in the year 1787; for the general events are connected, and proceed uninterruptedly from the close of that period. At the end of the *Preface* to that work, I said: " My history breaks off at a most brilliant and important epoch. It is, when Henry Plantagenet had just mounted the throne of England, when his dissensions were soon to begin with Becket, when Frederic Barbarossa was in Germany, when Alexander III. was at Rome, and when the general aspect of Europe seemed to promise events, great and interesting. The period has already been ably treated; but should the public favour encourage me, perhaps I may be tempted again to review it." The public favour did encourage me, and I prosecuted my design. But

I could not then calculate the labour that would attend it. However, in my former researches, having acquired some knowledge of the manners and of the general character of the times, I was not in the forlorn situation of a traveller who is thrown on a distant land, to whom the language of the inhabitants, the country, and all its ways, are strange and inextricable. My sources of information, besides, were ample.

In reading the History of Henry II. as given by modern writers, I had, many years before, remarked, with what asperity they spoke of Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and of his controversy with that king. I likewise knew, how highly, at the same time, the character of that prelate was venerated in my own church. That truth was never found in the extreme of any question, I was aware; and it was my wish to bring the subject to a fair discussion, and to be just. If I have not been so; some untoward circumstance of my mind, which I could not command, has led me into error.— Sometimes I have been sorry, that I had not confined myself solely to the life of Becket. I could then have taken a wider view of it, and have brought forward, in so short a period, many incidents

dents and anecdotes, which would have thrown additional light on the times. But the greater events of history coalesce better with kings and statesmen; and as they, to the neglect of more interesting materials, have filled the pages of our ancient writers, we collect them with less labour. — Having completed the reign of Henry, in a much shorter compass than I had expected, the natural connection between him and his sons led me on to the two succeeding reigns. And the concomitant characters and events of the period, as far as I could admit them, served, all along, opportunely to break the narration, and to relieve it. I must now acquaint my reader with the sources from which I drew.

On the affairs of England, I consulted William of Malmesbury, William of Newborough, Ralph de Diceto, Gervase of Canterbury, Roger de Hoveden, Gerald of Wales or Cambrensis, Geoffry Villefauf, Matthew Paris, the *Chronicles* of Mailros, and of Walter Hemingford, and the *Annals* of Margan, of Burton, and of Waverley.

William of Malmesbury, a monk of that abbey in Wiltshire, lived under Henry I. and Stephen. Of his life little is known but what himself has

*William of
Malmesbury*.

recorded: but his writings, by their elegance of style and accuracy, have given immortality to his name, and rendered it dear to the lovers of English history. Robert, earl of Gloucester, the natural son of that Henry, and the *Mecenas* of the age, was the protector of this learned monk; and to him he dedicated his two principal works. "Which," says Leland, "as often as I take into my hand, I am compelled to admire the diligence of the man, whose reading had been vast; the felicity of his diction, which could imitate the best originals; and the soundness of his judgment."^a His general history of England (*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*) is in five books, from the arrival of the Saxons, in 449, to the 26th of Henry I. 1126: his modern history (*Historiae Novellæ*) in two books, from that year, to 1143: and a history of the English church in four books. These Sir Henry Saville published an. 1596.^{*} The titles of his other works are various. A faithful and animated translation of the above histories would be well received, I think, by the public.

William of
Newborough.

William of Newborough, in Latin *Neubrigensis*, was a monk in the abbey of that name in Yorkshire, now

^a *De Scrip. Brit.* p. 195.

now the seat of the noble family of Bellasye. He was born in 1136, and lived to see the end of the century. Among his works the most valuable is the history of England, (*Rerum Anglicarum*) in five books, from the conquest to 1197, the eighth year of king Richard, which extensive knowledge of the subject, veracity of narration, proper arrangement, and uncommon purity of language, have rendered highly estimable. I have sometimes styled him the most philosophical of the monkish writers; for I saw in him an honest love of truth, a depth of observation, and a boldness of reflection which the subservient spirit of the cowl could not stifle. His severe strictures on the fabling Geoffrey of Monmouth have excited the displeasure of some ancient Britons^b and of Leland^b; and Pitts dares to question his general veracity, because, on some occasions, he too freely patronised the civil measures of the state^c. The above history was published by Hearn in three volumes 8vo. 1719. Mine is a German edition in folio.

Radulphus de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's, contemporary with Henry II. and his sons, wrote two histories of this country, one a mere abridgement

Ralph de
Diceto.

(Abbre-

^b Ib. p. 203.

^c De Ill. Ang. Scrip. p. 270.

(*Abbreviationes chronicorum*) from 589 to 1197, and the other (*Ymagines historiarum*) from 1149 to 1199, the first of king John. From his rank in the church, and the various business in which he was employed, Radulphus was well qualified to record the transactions, particularly of his own times, and he has done it with accuracy and truth. His facts seem judiciously selected, and they are arranged with perspicuity; and his narration, without being very correct, or elegant, or minute, or flowing, proceeds with manliness and candour. I have observed that he, as well as other writers of the age, were well acquainted with the characters and great occurrences of other countries, which they have carefully transmitted. The titles of the works of Radulphus are numerous: and his two histories, as just described, were published by Sir Roger Twyfden in his collection of *ten writers*, an. 1652.

Gervase of
Canterbury.

Gervasius, a monk of Christchurch in Canterbury, was coeval with the last writer. His works are a *Chronicle* of English history from 1122 to the end of the reign of Richard, the *Lives* of the archbishops of Canterbury from Austin to 1205, and a *Treatise* on the destruction by fire, and the rebuilding of the

the cathedral of Christchurch, which himself witnessed. — In the writings of Gervasius is much curious information, and they are disposed with great chronological precision. But on the transactions of the church, and particularly those, in which he was personally interested, the disputes between his monastery and the archbishops, he dwells with a disgusting prolixity. General events are well told, and sometimes with a circumstantial minuteness, which an accurate observer only could have detailed. His description of the rebuilding of Christchurch is a valuable piece. The style of Gervasius has no flowers; but it is not low, or obscure, or languid. His works are in the last-mentioned collection.

Roger de Hoveden, or de Howden, was domestic chaplain to Henry II. and was employed by him in the transaction of many important concerns, being, from early application, particularly skilled in the canon and civil law. After the death of his master he retired, and compiled his Annals of English history, from 731, when Bede's history closes, to 1202, a work replete with various matter, and written with an accuracy that surprises. In recording events, he not only notes the years, but the months,

Roger de
Hoveden.

months, the days, and sometimes the hours when they happened. “ If to veracity,” says Leland, “ the first quality of the historian, Roger had joined some little of Roman elegance, he would have borne off the palm without a rival.” But that he neglected. Hence his style is slovenly, his phraseology often scriptural, and his narration loose, unconnected, and void of order. He is accused of having pirated his materials from the histories of Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, and the abbot of Peterborough, authors of renown, and the last his contemporary. The charge, in its full extent, is not just; for he relates many things of which himself had been witness. In the reign of Edward I. when his claim to the sovereignty of Scotland was litigated, the libraries of England were ordered to be searched, and the *annals* of Hoveden being found with other histories, on their statement of prior facts was the proud pretension ascertained, that is, in the opinion of the English monarch and his court. The *Annals* are in the collection of Sir Henry Saville.

Giraldus
Cambrensis.

Giraldus Cambrensis, descended from noble ancestors, was born near Tenby in Pembrokeshire.

With

* Ut sup. p. 229.

• Thos. Walsingham. an. 1292.

with much self-complacency, and with a vanity which has been seldom equalled, himself has related his first education under his uncle, the bishop of St. David's; his application to study; his great fame, as a rhetorician, in the schools of Paris; his preferments in the church; his labours to save the souls of his countrymen, who neglected to pay the tithes of their cheese and wool; his promotion to the archdeaconry of Brecon and to the see of St. David's, which the disinclination of Henry II. would not permit him to occupy: the further prosecution of learning, in the laws and theology, at Paris, where his fame outwent the most exalted praise: his being called to the court of Henry, appointed his chaplain, and preceptor to prince John, and his journey with the youth into Ireland; his progress through Wales, with Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, where they preached the crusade, and his *Latin* sermons drew tears of extacy, from the listening crouds of Welshmen; his better prospects at the accession of Richard, as the last king would not reward virtues and abilities which he was compelled to admire; his refusing the bishoprics of Bangor and Landaff, having fixed his heart on the see of St. David's; his retiring (as

the aspect of public affairs, during the absence of the king, promised no success) to Lincoln, where, for six years, he heared the lectures of William de Monte in theology, and composed many works; his second election to the see of St. David's, wherein he was again opposed by the primate Hubert, involved in difficulties, forced, at a great expence, to make three journeys to Rome, and at last defeated; his withdrawing from the world, where, in a studious privacy, he spent seventeen years¹. Such, from his own description, was the life of Giraldus, a man of uncommon activity, endowments, and learning.—In the long catalogue of his works, the principal are the *Topography of Ireland*, drawn from actual survey, but which, with some interesting information, is crowded with tales of strange events and appearances:—The *Conquest of Ireland*, in two books, which, though too partial to the English name, is a production of great value:—And the *Itinerary of Wales*, containing a description of that country and its inhabitants, of which many parts are highly curious.—The style of Giraldus is affected and unequal. He took delight in drawing characters, and in reporting the speeches

¹ Giral. Camb. de rebus a se gestis ap. Angl. Sacr.

speeches of his heroes, after the manner of the ancients; but he was not aware that the clumsy imitation betrayed his weakness and want of classical taste. — Mr. Camden collected the works, I have mentioned, which were printed, with others, at Francfort in 1603.

Geoffry Vinisalvus, a poet and historian, lived under Richard and John, the first of whom he accompanied into Palestine, and whose expedition and exploits he recorded. This is the *Iter Hierosolymitanum* in six books. The biographers of Vinsauf, even Leland, speak of his accomplishments, and the admirable style of his works, in a manner that has surprised me. So laboured to me is his diction, that it raised disgust; his dull narrations tired me; and I could not give credit to his statement of facts, which a romantic fancy seemed always to have magnified, and often to have invented. — The *Iter* of Vinsauf is in Gale's collection, an. 1687.

Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Alban's, who lived in the reign of Henry III. wrote two histories of England, the *Historia Major* from the conquest to 1259, and the *Historia Minor*, which is an abridgment of the former made by himself. Matthew is described as an universal scholar, and he seems to

Geoffry Vin-
suf.

MatthewParis

have merited the praise. His histories are an inestimable treasure, for their accuracy, their independent and free spirit, and their extensive information. But the style is heavy and inelegant; and a weak credulity, introducing idle tales, too often breaks and disgraces the interesting narration. He saw the abusive pretensions of Rome, and boldly censured them — Of these works many editions have been given:

Chronicle of
Mailros.

The *Chronicle de Mailros*, a monastery on the banks of the Tweed, was written by various hands, and contains the annals of the Scottish kings from 735 to 1270: but it also records some events which interest the English historian. — The *Chronicle* is in Gale.

Walter Hem-
ingford.

Walter *Hemingford*, a canon regular of Gisborn in Yorkshire, published a *Chronicle* of English history from the conquest to the death of Henry III. 1272. His facts are mostly drawn from other writers.—The work is in Gale.

Annals of
Margan.

The *Annals de Margan*, or *Morgan*, an abbey in Glamorganshire founded by the famous duke Robert in 1147, contain a very succinct account of the affairs of this country from the conquest to 1232, but such as are not all found in the more voluminous writers.—They are in Gale. The

The *Annals of Burton*, written by an unknown author, a monk of that abbey in Staffordshire, profess to open with the year 1004; but it is not till the reign of Richard, that they enter into any detail. From this year 1189, they exhibit much curious matter, and proceed to 1263, or the latter years of Henry III. Matthew Paris and this author were, probably, contemporaries; and their histories confirm, and throw mutual light on each other. The annals are in Gale.

Annals of Burton.

The *Annals of Waverley* are another anonymous compilation, written, as it appears, by a succession of monks. They begin with the conquest, the author of which part professes that he had seen William and been in his court. The narration then goes on, with much simplicity and apparent candour to 1291, the nineteenth year of Edward I. Waverley was a Cistercian abbey in Surrey.— These annals are also in Gale.

Annals of Waverley.

From these copious sources, as other writers had done, I collected the principal materials. But I seldom consulted Matthew of Westminster, who in his *Chronicle* from Adam to the reign of Edward II. as far as he could, has abridged Matthew Paris; nor the *Chronicle* of John Bromton, from 588 to

1198, a writer of much more recent date than the last year announces, and the transcriber of Hoveden in nearly all that is important; nor the *Compilation* of Henry Knighton, *de eventibus Angliae*, from the reign of Edgar to 1395, the last years of Richard II. a valuable historian, but who, having lived at so late a period, could add no weight to the testimony of more contemporary authors. The two last are in Twysden.—It was not my wish to swell the line of references with an unnecessary display of names. So also, as I only looked for the most authentic documents, I was satisfied with those which approached nearest to the times, and only sought other aid as it became necessary. The reader will therefore notice that I do not quote Matthew Paris, till the other sources were exhausted, and his authority, as the events came nearer to him, grew. The method, I thought, would best conduce to the establishment of historic truth.

In stating the controversy between Henry and the primate, and in my relation of the latter's life, I found the authors, I have mentioned, abundantly informing. Them I copied, and the four contemporary writers, Herbert de Bosham, William of Canterbury, John of Salisbury, and the abbot

Alan,

Alan, whose relations are prefixed to the collection of the extensive correspondence on the subject, and the letters themselves. No portion of history is so richly supplied with materials as this. The biography is in three books, written with too partial an inclination to the primate and his cause; and the letters in five. These are from various correspondents, the greatest men of the age, and are an invaluable monument of its learning, its politics, and its taste. They were published from a MS in the Vatican library, by Christianus Lupus, at Brussels, an. 1682.

To the moderns I am not much indebted; for possessing the original writers themselves, I wished to be guided by them alone, and to feel no foreign influence. Occasionally, however, I looked into Rapin, and Hume, and the History of Henry II. by George Lord Lyttelton.

Of Rapin the far most valuable part are the *notes*, by his translator Tindal. The work itself is a base compilation, which has marred the beauty of English story, and led many writers, who have been satisfied to copy him, into an endless maze of errors. Sore from ill-usage, as he justly deemed it, and his expulsion from France, Rapin sought to

to revenge the injury on all its monarchs, mistating their views and politics: he vilified the religion of Rome and the characters of its ministers, from bigotry and absurd attachments to his new faith: and in relating the transactions of England, he was partial and unjust. On all occasions, the unfounded suggestions of his own mind, and loose surmises are presented, for the genuine statements of the ancient chroniclers, whom he dares to quote. Unfortunately, I have said, the spirit of this man has been transfused into other pens, through a thousand channels.

Even Mr. *Hume*, I fear, was sometimes content to transcribe from Rapin, when the best originals lay open before him. But the philosopher's fame rose not from the first volumes of his history, which, I trust, I may be permitted to say, are indistinct from compression, and sometimes inaccurate, perhaps, from the same cause. He seems to have finished them as a task, which had not engaged his heart, or roused the energies of his mind.

Lord Lyttelton's *history* is a valuable compilation, which the scholars of future days will consult. The lassitude I have felt in its perusal, only said that the digressions were too long and frequent, and

and that the story, which never ends, wanted life and interest. It is a treasure of knowledge, replete with much truth and accurate description. But I have to complain that his partiality for Henry permitted him not to see distinctly, even when the medium was most serene, and that the *horror of popery*, which in some is a real malady, had disordered his judgment. The mind which is oppressed by this disease, should not be allowed to enter on the discussion of ecclesiastical matters, particularly at such a period as was that of Henry II. His notions also of a limited prerogative, and of a parliamentary representation, were drawn from a theory which the facts of history did not establish. What else I have to object to the noble author shall be mentioned in its place.

My authorities for the general history, which accompanies that of England, were the best I could procure.—In the concerns of France, which all along are connected with our own; our own historians supplied ample information; and to them were joined a few chronicles, and among the moderns, Mezeray, Daniel, and the president Henault.

In stating the affairs of Germany, Sicily, and Lombardy, I was happy in being able to recur to Muratori, the illustrious librarian of Modena, whose volumes of universal literature are themselves a library. His *Annali d'Italia* present every thing, from the original authors themselves, which the most scrupulous historian may desire. I was, besides, in possession of the *Chronicle* of the abbot of Ursperg, and of the *Life* of Frederic Barbarossa, by Otho de Freisingen his uncle, and of an *Abridgment* of German history by Peeffel.

The *Annals* of Baronius and the *History* of Fleury were the authors I consulted on the affairs of the church. Too much cannot be said in praise of either. Baronius gives you ample extracts from the best authors, (for the treasures of the Vatican were all open to him,) on which the writer may form his own judgment, unbiassed by the partial and courtly views of the Roman cardinal. Unfortunately his researches end with the year 1198, and as yet the learned have but shewn their weakness, in attempting to continue his labours. Baronius, however, it must be owned, was credulous; he wanted critical science, which, when he lived, was but in its infancy; and his love of controversy led

led him into disquisitions, which break unpleasantly the thread of history. He died in 1607.— Of the merits of Fleury I have elsewhere spoken; and I can add that, the more I have compared him with the original writers, the greater has been my admiration of his uncommon accuracy and scrupulous precision.

This account, though imperfect,^{*} of the authors I had by me, will, I hope, give some satisfaction. It will prove at least that my materials were not defective.— Should it be asked, why I did not extend my researches into the histories of Spain and other kingdoms, and unite their events with those I have recorded? I can reply, that it was not my plan to write a *general* history of the period, and that I wished only to bring forward such matters, as were either immediately connected with the concerns of England, or such as might serve, by their importance, to give relief and variety. On a larger scale than this, the history itself of England, which I viewed as the prominent and central figure, would have been thrown back on the scene, or have been overwhelmed in the accumulation of objects.

* Pref. to Abeil. p. xxiv.

How the work itself, agreeably to the plan I laid down, has been executed, must be left to the judgment of an equitable public. I can only say that, as far as my abilities reached, they have been uniformly exerted. The subject certainly is interesting, particularly the reign of Henry, and more particularly the reign of John, over the principal events of which, those that lead, through *Magna Charta*, to the dawn of liberty, I have thrown, I think, some new light. I am well aware, that the task I undertook was arduous, and that on a subject, so generally understood, I exposed myself to censure.

By some I shall be accused of bigotry, and of seeing with popish eyes: while others, perhaps, may charge me with a freedom of thought, bordering on incredulity, and with a want of veneration for sacred persons and sacred things. In this discordance of opinions, I shall myself be disposed to conclude, that I have fortunately avoided the extremes, in which alone lies error.

To the reader, as he proceeds, two observations will occur, which I wish here to anticipate by remarking, 1. That I endeavoured, as far as the great complication of occurrences would permit,

to

to give to each its proper place, whereby confusion might be avoided, and each year would measure its own events. The arrangement, I have no doubt, will be admitted in theory. But then the consequence has been, that the narration has sometimes taken the broken form of annals, which to those who only read for amusement, or who only look for unity of design and parts nicely joined, may prove offensive. This defect, if it be one, will be found to occur, where the years are thin of occurrences, or the under-parts have been various and independent; for the main action, I hope, will throughout appear uniform and never broken without design. Whatever may be thought by others, I adopted the measure from a conviction of its utility, and from having experienced that want of distinct arrangement in other writers, which generates confusion, and distracts the mind. Without any regard to dates, they leave many occurrences behind them, which they bring up at certain periods, as a mass of information can be best formed, and with the same view they can anticipate on futurity. I wished that my reader, under each year, might see the series of its events. — In the *Introduction* only I was necessitated to depart from this

this order, and to collect into a point many antecedent transactions, from the circumstance of the reigns of those princes, whose history I meant to review, having commenced at different periods. I could then from Book I. proceed regularly. On some other occasions, expediency prompted a violation of my rule ; for I had not tied myself irreversibly to the rigid trammels of a chronicler.

2. I must notice the *dramatic* stile, which I have sedulously adopted, whenever the original writer had himself used it, and at other times, when the narration, from its circumstantial detail, authorised the licence. Thus when the old writer related, that such things were said in conversation or at interviews, I sometimes took the liberty to make the persons speak for themselves, as, on the occasion itself, they certainly had done. This stile of narration, practised by the best models in the schools of ancient Greece and Rome, has given to their writings that interesting charm, which captivates, which insensibly transports the reader into the company of their heroes and sages, obliterating, by a momentary magic, the distance of years, and the consciousness of present existence. I had not always such noble personages to present; but to such

such as they were I was desirous to introduce my reader, that he might witness their manners, and hear their blunt, and unadorned discourse. The method has, at least, the advantage of diversifying a long story; and as in more modern times, speech has not been less used, than it was *of yore*, why shall a stile be rejected, which approaches nearest to common life, and which the ancients practised with success?

When I began my work, I thought I should have been able to intersperse, with some effect, observations on the *manners*, the *arts*, and the *learning* of the period; but I was soon sensible, that the minute digressions, which could not coalesce aptly with the general story, would either seem misplaced, or be lost in the rolling torrent of war and politics. I therefore reserved them for a distinct dissertation, which forms *Appendix I.*—It here becomes me to acknowledge my obligations to Dr. Henry, who in his history of England, has made researches, which, in my estimation, render it far the most valuable compilation we possess. I had prepared my own observations and extracts; but his work served to abridge my labour.

Appendix II. contains a critical examination of a *Letter* of Foliot bishop of London, and of a *Bull* ascribed to Alexander III. the Roman bishop, which Lord Lyttelton found in the Cottonian collection of MSS. and on the supposed authority of which, (of the *Letter* I mean,) a material portion of his history is built. It became necessary coolly to weigh documents, of which an important use had been made; and the result of my enquiries was, that the *Letter* and the *Bull* were both *spurious*, or, which to me was tantamount, that they were of no authority.

I have to add, that I once intended to have pre-fixed to this work a *geographical* view of England, as it was in the 12th century, drawn from the old writers; and that my materials were in part collected. But the season of publication pressed, and already, it seemed, the volume had swollen to a cumbrous magnitude.

As I have no views in my pursuits, but to present historical truth as exempt, as may be, from the blemishes of political and religious prejudices, it will give me pleasure to retract any errors, into which I may have fallen. Errors there are, I am well aware; though neither incaution, nor a love

of

of controversy, nor any want of sufficient evidence has produced them. For these I may claim indulgence: but to the bar of an enlightened and just criticism I would rather appeal for approbation or censure.—I had hoped the time was fast advancing when men of literary pursuits, at least, would no longer feel that influence of climate, of religion, of politics, which hitherto, by a fatal bias, had warped the energies of genius, and checked the progress of important truths. And still I will indulge the pleasing hope, though the events of every day convince me, that we have yet far to go, and that a world of idle altercation must yet be passed through. That the age, with which I have lately conversed, was dark, I am ready to admit, and to admit that ours is comparatively enlightened: but of this light what hitherto have been the fruits? The bounds of science have been enlarged, and the arts perfected. The mind of man, in its moral tendencies, remains as it was, narrow, self-interested, intolerant. And so it must be, I believe, till other ages have gone round, and we have learned to be, what it imports us most to be, *men and brethren.*

E R R A T A.

- Page 3, line 2, for *Poiton*, read *Poitou*.
..... 28, note k, for *Moreri*, read *Muratori*.
..... 52, line 22, for *Terracine*, read *Terracina*.
..... 85, 18, for *smooth*, read *sooth*.
..... 236, 18, for *ene*, read *era*.
..... 267, 13, for *Bohum*, read *Bohun*.
..... 387, 21, for *reigns*, read *reins*.
..... 398, 1, for *Nestle*, read *Nefle*.
..... 410, 6, for *have*, read *been*.
..... 447, 24, for *Morania*, read *Meranie*.
..... 457, 1, for *Mirabeau*, read *Mirebeau*.
..... 565, 4, for *ever*, read *every*.
..... 580, 20, for *my*, read *me*.

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T H E



A
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E I G N S, &c.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

*State of England.—State of France.—Germany.—Sicily.—
Rome.*

AWFUL is the impression which now falls on my mind, when, with the annals of times long passed open before me, I sit down to contemplate the manners of men and the events of their days, and to trace, through the maze of its progress, the meandering, and often evanescent, line of truth. *History* is the narration of *facts*; but we receive them on the testimony of men like ourselves, whom want of evidence sometimes misled, or incaution, or credulity,

or views of party, or inability of discernment, exposed to error. And when facts are even most authentic; how does attention flume, with what languor moves the page, if the motives which led to action, if the views which animated, if the policy of design, if the mistakes of judgment, if the workings of passion, are unrecorded, and the transactions of man are only *numbered* on the scene? We look in vain for the varied progress, which the efforts of mind, that is, the evolutions of rational nature are calculated to exhibit: the distinction only of periods, or broken dates, the names of men and places obscurely rendered, loose descriptions, battles lost and won, arrest the eye in a disgusting reiteration. When the chronicler who must lead his steps, has so written, what shall the historian do? Shall he be permitted, or shall he dare, from the suggestions of his own fancy, to supply the defects of his guide, and embellish the rude sketch? Or, with patient toil pursuing the dreary track, shall he be accurate only and true? Fiction has its province, and truth her's; and they may not be confounded. My guides, whom the cowl covered, whom, in a dark age, genius did not illumine, nor science polish, have no variety that pleases, no style that charms: but I will follow them, earnest to bring forward their unadorned narration, to drop the tale which superstition created, and credulity wove, and willing rather to incur the censure of dulness, than to attempt amusement by illusive arts or the supplements of invention.

H E N R Y, the second of the name, called Plantagenet; was now in possession of the English throne. He was son of Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, and of Matilda, daughter of Henry I. once empress of Germany. At his father's death, the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, had devolved on him, and he possessed Normandy in the right of his mother. Eleanor, the heiress of Aquitaine, after almost sixteen years cohabitation, was divorced from her husband, Louis VII. of France. Within six weeks she gave her hand to Henry, and with it the splendid dower of seven provinces, Guienne, Poiton, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limosin. This was in the year 1152^a.—So rich in titles and in extent of territory was this favoured child of fortune, when, on the demise of Stephen, two years afterwards, agreeably to a convention previously settled at Winchester, whereby he was named successor to the throne, Henry was saluted king of England. He had reached his twenty-first year.

Worn down by the turbulent scenes of the preceding reign, the people now ardently raised their eyes to the young prince, and they augured happiness to themselves, and to him glory. They knew he had been tutored in the rigid school of military discipline; and they had been told of his martial prowess, of his prudence in counsel, of his firmness in action, and of his experience in the general arts of government^b. Nor were themselves strangers to his person or character. More than once he had visited England: he had passed four years at Bristol, under the eye of his uncle Gloucester, the bastard son of Henry, the first scholar

From 1154 to
1160.
State of Eng-
land.

^a Hist. of Abeil. p. 362.

^b Gul. Neubrig. Recum. Angl. l. 2. c. 1.

and the first warrior of the age, the friend to Matilda, and the pillar of her cause; and recently he had dared to contend with the armies of Stephen, an experienced and brave soldier, whom he compelled to terms of honourable peace.^{*} Now was Henry in the quiet attainment of every object, to which even his ambition, it seemed, could aspire, being duke of Normandy, earl of Anjou, duke of Aquitaine, and king of England. His foreign territories alone were more than a third part of the whole French monarchy, and the vassal of Louis was more powerful than his lord.

The splendour of the station would have dazzled another prince: it only served to rouse the active powers of Henry. It had been stipulated at Winchester, in 1153, that the foreign mercenaries, on both sides, should be dismissed, and the castles be demolished, which had been lately erected. They were the seats of every enormity. Soon, therefore, the mercenaries disappeared, and the castles fell.—Agreeably to the same treaty, he resumed the crown-lands, which Stephen had alienated, or the rapacity of the barons had usurped; and in a council held at London, granted a *Charter of Liberties*, which confirmed that of his grandfather, Henry I. But neither this, nor the deed which it renewed, and which contained many of the laws of the Confessor, at that time attracted notice.—Contemporary writers draw an enchanting picture of the times, when, after the horrors of the preceding reign, peace with her attendant blessings was seen to return, amidst the acclamations of a reviving nation. The king gave his hours to the concerns of state; but, like Alcibiades, he could unbend from the important labour;

labour; and he committed to able hands the administration of public justice^a. The earl of Leicester and Richard de Lucy were joined in the commission of grand justiciary, then the highest post of dignity: Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, whose important services had bound him to the throne, was a principal adviser: and, on his recommendation, Thomas a Becket, then archdeacon of Canterbury, whom the primate loved and honoured, was raised to the office of chancellor^c.

The king had now leisure to attend to his distant territories, and sailing to Normandy, he did homage to Louis for the fiefs he held under him.—*Homage* was thus performed: the *vassal*, on his knees, unarmed and bareheaded, held both his hands between those of his *lord*, who was fitting, and, at the same time, pronounced an oath of allegiance. On the part of the lord, the ceremony denoted protection and defence, and on that of the vassal, reverence and subjection.—Geoffrey, the king's brother, claimed his father's earldoms, which had been left to him, and Henry, though reluctantly, had sworn to fulfill the will. It was, indeed, conditional, that is, if the elder brother should ever possess the English throne. The youth now demanded his paternal inheritance, which Henry refused, having obtained, it was said, from Rome, a dispensation from an oath, he had not freely made. The injured prince had recourse to arms; but the airy prospect of three earldoms soon vanished, and the castles, he before possessed, were levelled to the ground. The king, in his clemency, settled on him a pension, not unsuitable to his rank^f.—

From

^a Neubrig. c. 1.

^b Gerv. chron. an. 1154.

^c Neubrig. c. 7.

From the capital of Normandy to the Pyrenean mountains, the vigour of a sound policy united the various states; when in the spring of the year, 1157, Henry returned into England. Becket, the companion of his pleasures and his toils, had attended his master, evincing by his conduct that the place of friend and minister was due to the powers of his mind and the accomplishments of his person.

During the troubles of the last reign, David, the Scottish king, had possessed himself of the three English counties, which lay nearest to him, and Henry, then on a visit to David, had been induced to promise that, should Providence raise him to the throne of his ancestors, he would never claim the possession. David then conferred on him the honour of knighthood, a necessary prelude to the due discharge of the important duty of arms. But a territory of so much value was not to be lost, and Henry now demanded its surrender. The power of the claimant was irresistible, and to urge the circumstance of the promise would avail little. Malcolm, therefore, the grandson of David, and who had inherited his crown, did not hesitate to comply, and in return he received the earldom of Huntingdon, to which he could plead a more ancient title.—He was called to the west.

The Welsh, whom no efforts of our kings had permanently subjected, availing themselves of the distracted politics of Stephen, had expelled the English settlers, had made bolder incursions into the neighbouring counties, and had assumed the independence of a free people. But unfortunately no common interest united the princes, or chieftains

* Vita S. Tho. Cant. c. 4.

* Neubrig. c. 4.

tains of the country: they hated the English, and they were not friends to one another. The historians describe them as a people, ferocious in their manners, and unquiet from barbarism, intent on rapine, and only pleased with the chace or with war. The harsh features of the country well accorded with these habits of rational nature. Henry saw with pain that they, who had been tributary to his grandfather, refused to do him homage, and that, if the evil were not checked, his own territories must be exposed to incessant insults. Owen Gwyneth ruled in the north, and Rhee ap Gryffyth in the south.

At the head of a large army the English monarch entered Flintshire, where Gwyneth lay encamped, prepared, as it seemed, to give him battle; and with the vanguard advanced into a narrow pass between two mountains. Instantly, a numerous band, which was in ambush, rose with horrid cries, and from the woody sides of the defile assaulted the invaders. The unexpected and fierce attack was irresistible. Henry retreated; but the greater part of his followers fell, and it was reported that himself was among the slain. The report dismayed the troops who were advancing to the pass, whilst the enemy poured down from the hills, and assailed them with impetuous fury. At the moment, the young hero appeared: he rallied his men, and led them to the charge. The Welshmen gave way, and retired, in confusion, to the woods.

But it was evident, unless they proceeded with the utmost caution, that no real advantage could be gained over such an enemy. It was therefore resolved, marching along the sea-shore, to desolate the plains; and a fleet received orders,

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orders, as the occasion served, to descend on the open country. Owen retreated to Snowdon. Success now attended the English arms. Roads were cut, the woods were cleared, castles were built. The Welsh prince then sued for peace, and Henry was happy to grant it on terms, honourable and advantageous to England. Owen promised to do homage for North Wales, to yield up the lands with their castles, which, in the last reign, had been seized, and as hostages for his future fidelity, to deliver two of his sons into the hands of the victor. The inferior princes, though Henry had withdrawn his army, submitted also, on like terms, to the lords of the marches; and ap Gryffyth himself, after a vain resistance of some months, fullenly bowed his neck, and did homage¹.

Henry, in 1158, was again in Normandy. His brother Geoffrey was dead, on whom the inhabitants of Nantes in Bretagne had conferred the earldom of their city and its territory. This Henry claimed as his brother's heir; but he feared the opposition of the French king, who, with reason, might be jealous of his further aggrandisement, and to remove it, opened a negociation. This was a treaty of marriage between his eldest son Henry, and Margaret, the daughter of Louis by his second wife Constantia, princess of Castille. Henry was in his fifth year, and Margaret in her cradle. With joy the proposal was accepted, and the kings met on the borders of Normandy. But Becket was appointed to adjust the treaty, while his master marched into Bretagne, and unmolested took possession of the earldom. The able negotiator was not less successful.

Louis

¹ Neubrig. c. 5.

Louis consented that three castles in the Norman Vexin, a frontier of great moment, should be his daughter's portion; and which, till the marriage was celebrated, should remain in the custody of three knights of the temple. He even agreed to send the infant into Normandy, to be educated as Henry might direct.^{*}—The address of the chancellor in this negociation, and his munificence in the French court, graced by a retinue more than princely, are highly extolled by the historians.

Not many months after this event, which was followed by the surrender to him of various castles, that had belonged to the demesne of his ancestors, we find Henry preparing for a great expedition against the earl of Toulouse.—William, duke of Aquitaine, grandfather of Eleanor, having married the heiress of Toulouse, its earldom was annexed to the dutchy; but that, involved in difficulties which his profusion created, he afterwards mortgaged to the count of St. Gilles, who assumed the title of earl of Toulouse. The mortgage was unredeemed, when Eleanor, sole heiress of Aquitaine with its dependences, married the French king. In his wife's name, Louis had demanded the earldom; but the intervention of the holy war impeded the prosecution of his claim. The claim, with the hand of Eleanor, was transferred to Henry, which he now resolved to enforce. The earldom of Toulouse, at that time, comprehended the Quercy, and the greater part of the present Languedoc. Cheerfully did the barons of England espouse the distant quarrel; and soon Henry appeared in Guienne at the head of a formidable army. The lords of the neighbouring

* Neubrig. c. 27.

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provinces crowded to his standard; and Malcolm of Scotland was there, and a prince of Wales; but amongst them all, foremost in arms and opulence, shone the puissant Berenger, duke of Provence and king of Arragon, who, in greatness of mind or caprice of fancy, would only be styled count of Barcelona. The city of Toulouse was surrounded. As the storm approached, Raymond, which was the earl's name, had implored the aid of Louis, whose sister he had married. Reluctantly did the king listen to his prayer; but being at last roused, he marched to the south with a chosen band, and entered the city. Secure of success, the allied army lay heedless on the plain. With amazement did Henry hear that the French monarch in person was within the walls, when he summoned the chieftains, and demanded their advice. Becket, with his usual fire, proposed an immediate assault, urging that the garrison was still weak, and that a noble prize would grace the triumph of their arms. But his opinion did not prevail; and Henry, whose interest it was to maintain the feudal maxims, by which his own dominions were secured, declared he would not attack a place defended by his superior lord, with whom he was not at war. He raised the siege, and retired; but he ravaged the province, and having taken Cahors, which he committed to the chancellor, withdrew with the main body of his troops into Normandy¹. — Many noble warriors perished before Toulouse, and great treasures were expended.

A hundred and fourscore thousand pounds, more than two millions of our money, had been levied for this war, and the mode of raising it was new in the English annals.

It

¹ Neubrig. c. 10.

It was done by *scutage*, that is, by a pecuniary commutation for personal service. Before this, at the prince's command, agreeably to the fees or tenures they immediately held under the crown, his vassals appeared in arms, bringing with them their appointed contingent of knights, retainers, or tenants. And thus the armies rose. But on this occasion a proclamation was issued, which empowered the vassal, in lieu of his personal attendance, to contribute a sum of money, proportioned to the expence he would have incurred by service. The inferior military tenants were eased, as it freed them from the toil and great expence of a distant war, and the king was better served. With the money he hired a mercenary force, men well-inured to discipline, and whom the condition of their pay bound to permanent service: whereas a feudal army, untractable and undisciplined, headed by haughty and independent barons, spurned controul; and when the term of their engagement expired, usually only of forty days, they were at liberty to withdraw. Contention and personal feuds attended their march, and the prince or leader possessed little more than the name of supreme commander.

The conduct of Becket, in the expedition I have described, drew general attention. Into his family, we are told, many noblemen had sent their children, to receive from him the rudiments of discipline, and to be trained to chivalry. Seven hundred knights he led into the field, each with his attendant squire; and where honour invited, or danger threatened, these were foremost in the battle. Nor was the chancellor himself less forward than they. Whilst he remained in the Quercy, to defend its capital

and other conquests which had been made, at the head of his troops, he attempted three castles, which his master had deemed impregnable, and took them by storm. He passed the Garonne, and insulted the earldom of Toulouse. But his presence was necessary in Normandy. Leaving, therefore, his household forces to secure the forts he had taken, and the king's conquests, he hired, at his own charge, twelve hundred knights, and four thousand stipendiaries, to attend him for forty days. The knights received a liberal pay: they were fed at his expence, and often dined at his table. In single combat, it is said, he, one day, engaged a French knight, famous in arms: him he dismounted with his lance, and gaining his horse, led him off in triumph^m. — The manners of the age, and the buoyant spirit of Becket, which roused him to achievements, and the ardour with which he fought his master's glory, shall reconcile to the fastidious casuist such unsacred and indecorous scenes.

A treaty of peace, soon afterwards, was concluded between the two monarchs, with which Henry had reason to be pleased; for he retained many of the places he had conquered, and the general rights of the dukedom of Aquitaine were secured to him. The primary object of the war only, that is, the annexation of Toulouse to his dominions, remained unattained. On some future occasion, fortune, he trusted, would be more propitious to his designs. It was the end of the year 1159.

Matilda, while Henry's reign thus opened, resided in Normandy, the chief administration of which had been entrusted

^m Vita c. 5.

entrusted to her care, not an uninterested witness of the spreading glory of her son. Europe had not beheld a more illustrious woman. By her first marriage with Henry V. she was empress of Germany; by her second, countess of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; and by her father's will named duchess of Normandy, and queen of England. The efforts she made to obtain the crown, which was her due, argued a bold and perseverant mind; and the tissue of her adventures, in its pursuit, has hardly been equalled in the annals of romance. In adversity she was magnanimous; in prosperity, haughty and insolent*. Disappointment, age, and reflection, finally lowered the violence of her temper, and she learned the virtues, which she wanted most, moderation and mildness. Her love for Henry was maternal. With care she watched his tender years; and when the death of Stephen called him to the crown, she could resign it without a murmur, and withdrew her own brows from its enchanting circle. Happy in a subordinate station, she had no ambition but in the prosperity of the king, and to promote it were all her efforts turned.

We read little of Eleanor, 'Henry's' queen. She had borne him four sons, William, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, of whom the eldest was dead, and a daughter, after her grandmother, named Matilda. The ages of the royal couple were very unequal. But though she had seen ten years more than he, her beauty and natural vivacity were unimpaired. These gained her many lovers; but she wanted the address, or perhaps the inclination, to hold their affections. Her temper was violent, and her passions

head-

* Wil. Malm. *passim*.

headstrong. The French monarch, it appears, she never loved: she ridiculed his monastic piety; and his simple and uncourtly manners were to her a source of incessant banter. I know not that, in the court of her uncle at Antioch, when she accompanied her husband to the east, she was guilty in the degree imputed to her; but his conduct, on the occasion, fixed a stain on her honour, and possibly left an impression on her heart, which no time could efface*. A divorce, at last, took place, on the idle plea of consanguinity, for they were cousins in the fourth degree, after they had cohabited sixteen years, and had had two daughters. A prince, less delicate, or more politic, than Louis, would, on no account, have adopted the fatal measure, when he knew that the rich provinces she had brought him must again be severed from his crown. We are told that, more than once, she had seen the son of Matilda, at her husband's court. He was young and animated: his air was martial, and his manners noble. These were charms for the gay Eleanor, and they disposed her, it may be thought, to urge more vehemently a separation from Louis. At that time, likewise, Henry had a crown in reversion, and it might be no unpleasing reflection, that she should have it in her power to mortify a husband she disliked, by a tender of her dominions to his rival. No sooner was she free, than more than one suitor, in the true spirit of chivalry, pressed for the honour of her hand. They lay in ambush to seize her, as she retired towards Guienne: but she escaped; and Henry Plantagenet meeting her at Poitiers, the nuptials were celebrated. Not six weeks, I have said, had elapsed from

from the divorce^P. The ambition, at least, of Henry was amply gratified; but with seven provinces she brought him a world of sorrows. Together they were crowned at Westminster, and again at Worcester.

Since the return of Louis VII. from Palestine, in 1149^q, no great events had diversified the politics of France. Grieved and unsuccessful he returned, having lost a hundred thousand men, to meet the reproaches of his subjects, and to witness the dismemberment of his empire. Louis, if we look to the integrity of his character, may seem to have merited a better fate: but it was his misfortune to have been born with a mind too prone to enthusiasm, which hurried him into difficulties, and to have lived with Henry Plantagenet. With this youth he could not cope; though age might have taught him experience, and experience wisdom. When Henry was born, Louis had been four years on the throne of France. But there are minds which a certain intuition guides to better policy, than by others is often learned in the school of progressive observation. With Louis it should have ever been a first design, when he saw that fortune smiled on this darling child, to have thrown down the ladder she held before him, and to have dashed in pieces every object of his heart; whereas, easy and unsuspecting, he permitted his advance, and only then meditated opposition, whilst, rising step by step, he had gained a firm footing, and could reach securely to the prize he had in view.

When Eustace, eldest son of Stephen, during the troubles in England, married Constantia, the French king's sister,

From 1149 to
1160.

State of
France.

INTRODUCTION.

sister, he was promised by him the investiture of Normandy. Afterwards, Louis fell from his word, and gave it to young Henry. In this there was policy, as, at the time, it appeared that Eustace would succeed to his father's throne. But soon the earl of Anjou died, and his territories devolving on Henry, from that moment he became formidable. Yet the next year, Louis repudiates his queen. He talked of his conscience, and of the laws of the church, and vainly fancied, says a modern writer¹, that the poorest gentleman in his dominions would not take for his wife so base a woman: then would Aquitaine descend to her daughters. The airy system vanished; and Louis viewing the accumulated power of the young prince, and in it the folly of his own conduct, was willing, though perhaps too late, to impede its further consequences. He began hostilities against him, aided by a powerful confederacy, at the head of which were prince Eustace, the earl of Blois, and Geoffrey Plantagenet. The two latter had been disappointed in their designs on the person of Eleanor. This was in the year 1152. The unprovoked attack, owing to the good conduct and undaunted spirit of Henry, met with little success; and, after some months, a truce was concluded, during which, news came to the French court, that the duke of Normandy had made peace with Stephen, and that he was declared successor to his throne. Again the irritable monarch entered Normandy; but Henry, whose situation called for peace, by the warmest professions of respect for his person, and zeal for his service, so soothed the angered king, that he listened to terms of

accom-

¹ Mezeray.

accommodation, and gave him the peace he wished for*. It is not long after this, that we behold the same Henry, bareheaded and unarmed before his lord, doing homage on his knees for the fairest portion of the Gallic empire.— Such to France were the fatal effects of the divorce, and of the easy and undecided character of her king.

We may now view him in circumstances more congenial with his humour. He had no male issue, and his nobles pressed him again to marry. Alphonso VIII. king of Castille, who, from his superiority over the other Spanish princes, and his victories over the Moors, assumed the title of emperor of Spain, had a daughter, Constantia. Her Louis asked in marriage, and obtained her, flattering himself, perhaps, that the circumstance might procure him an ally against Henry on the side of Guienne. They were married, and crowned at Orleans, in 1155. Soon after the ceremony, in company with his new queen, Louis undertook a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. On the borders of Spain, Sanchez, king of Navarre, whose queen was the sister of Constantia, received and entertained them. They proceeded. But Alphonso, hearing of their arrival, sent embassadors to request they would not return, without honouring Toledo with their presence. The invitation was accepted. Vast preparations, in the mean while, were made for their reception; and the kings and princes of the land, and the prelates and great vassals of the crown, assembled. The royal travellers arrived. To the penitential and pious exercises of Compostella now succeeded the pomp, the amusements, the gallantry, of the

* Gerv. an. 1152. Chron. Norman. ibid.*

Spanish court. Louis, it is said, viewed the scene with admiration, while it recalled to his mind the festive magnificence, with which he had been entertained at Constantinople, when, a few years before, he marched against the infidels of the east¹. In return for this munificent treatment, and the rich presents he made to Louis and his attendants, Alphonso only begged a portion of the relics of St. Eugenius, first bishop of Toledo, which reposèd in the abbey of St. Denys. The modest request could not be refused, and after the return of the royal guests into France, an arm of the saint was sent².

The events of the reign of Henry, which I have described, to the conclusion of a second peace, have sufficiently developed the state of France to the year 1160.

From 1152 to
1160.
Germany.

At a time, when Italy was torn by a thousand factions; when the city of Rome was distracted by internal feuds; when its pontiff was aiming at universal empire; and when the horrors of civil commotion menaced the divided states of Germany, Frederic Barbarossa, duke of Souabia, in a general diet of the empire, had been unanimously elected king of the Romans and of Germany, in the year 1152. Conrad III. his uncle and predecessor, had an infant son; but he was aware that an experienced and intrepid chief would now, more than ever, be necessary, to meet the storm that had been collecting round the throne of his ancestors. In his last moments, therefore, he recommended Frederic to the states, obtaining a promise from him that his son should possess the dutchy of Souabia. Frederic was endowed with splendid qualities. He was an able statesman; his courage was

¹ Hist. of Abeil. p. 371.

² Muratori an. 1155, ex Ferreras.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

was heroic : and his views, it was believed, were at once directed by a thirst of glory, and the love of his people. He had accompanied Conrad into the east, and had witnessed his overthrow in the deserts of Cappadocia.

Having repudiated his wife, Adelaide, under pretence of consanguinity, and diffused, as far as might be, the blessings of concord among his vassals, Frederic prepared to go into Italy. To pacify the disturbances of Lombardy, and to receive from the Roman bishop the imperial crown, were the objects of his journey. Adrian IV. was pope^w. In the plains of Roncaglia, between Placentia and Cremona, (a buckler suspended from a mast, according to ancient usage, announcing the solemn ceremony,) the king reviewed his vassals. The feudatories of the crown, with their respective bands, appeared before him ; and they who, without permission, had dared to be absent, were condemned by their peers to the forfeiture of their fiefs.—In a public diet, he then heared the complaints of many cities, and promised to redress their grievances. They complained of the Milanese and their allies : against whom, therefore, Frederic denounced his vengeance. The destruction of castles, the pillage of towns, and the waste of villages, followed the hostile declaration ; after which, anxious of the imperial dignity, the king pressed on his march towards the gates of Rome^x.

Deputies from the Roman people waited on him, as he approached : they requested from him the confirmation of their privileges, and of the senate they had re-established ; they demanded a sum of money for the crown he came to receive ; they intreated him to take from their bishop the

^v Hist. of Abeil. p. 372.

^w Ibid. p. 353.

^x Murat. an. 1154.

temporal sovereignty of Rome, and to leave him such as he was in ancient times¹. With disdain he rejected their petitions. Adrian then met him, and the circumstances of the interview were curious²; but the German was finally constrained to submit to the proud ceremonial of the Roman court. They entered the city together, and Frederic was crowned amidst the thundering acclamations of his army. Not long after this, he returned through Lombardy into Germany, towards the close of the year 1155.

Now it was that, in a diet of the empire, he terminated the contest which had long subsisted between Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, and Henry, margrave of Austria, concerning the succession to the dukedom of Bavaria. It had threatened to involve all the German states in war. To the duke he adjudged the contested territory, which his ancestors had long held; and raising Austria to a duchy, with it he invested the margrave, and conferred other rights and immunities on him and his family. Both parties, well satisfied, submitted to the award, and discord ceased³.

A northern prelate, returning from Rome, had been forcibly seized as he passed through Germany. The insult was felt by Adrian, and he dispatched two cardinals, Orlando of St. Mark and Bernard of St. Clement, to carry his complaints to Frederic, whom they found at Besançon, receiving homage from the deputies of the kingdom of Arles; and they presented to him the papal brief. It complained of the sacrilegious insult, just mentioned, which Frederic had neglected to punish: "But, my son," it goes on, "reflect with what pleasure thy mother, the holy

" Roman

¹ Hist. of Abeil. p. 301. ² Ibid. p. 356. ³ Pfeffel. Hist d'Allem. p. 324.

“ Roman church, received thee; how kindly she treated
 “ thee; what *a plenitude of dignity and honour she conferred upon*
 “ *thee*; and how, most freely, giving the imperial crown, she
 “ strove to cherish thee in her bosom, and to comply with all
 “ thy wishes. Nor are we sorry: even had thy excellency re-
 “ ceived greater favours (*beneficia*) from our hands, with rea-
 “ son we should rejoice.”—The unqualified address, when
 interpreted to the German nobles, raised a general murmur,
 and they repeated the words with indignation. “ And from
 “ whom then,” exclaimed Orlando, “ has he the empire, if
 “ not from our lord, the pope?” Otho, count Palatine of
 Bavaria, laid his hand on his sword: but the presence of
 Frederic stilled the tumult, and the legates were com-
 manded to depart^b. He then published a manifesto, which
 states the conduct of the legates, and the insult offered to
 the imperial dignity, which is asserted to be derived alone
 from God and from the free election of the German people.

On the return of the cardinals, the Roman court was alarmed and divided; and Adrian addressed a brief to the prelates of Germany, wherein having said how outrageously his ministers had been insulted, he exhorts them to admonish their master to turn from his evil purposes; and he speaks of the solid basis of the Roman church, which no storms shall ever move.—The reply of the prelates is firm, respectful, and dignified. “ The expressions,” they say, “ which your legates uttered, we neither dare, nor can, “ approve; for, before that day, such language had not “ been heared.” They repeat their master’s answer to the remonstrance which, at his holiness’s desire, they had made

to

to him : which is, That he gave all due honour to the papal chair ; that he received the crown he wore from the favour of heaven, which the prelates and princes of the empire had confirmed to him ; that by the archbishop of Cologne he had been anointed king, and crowned emperor by the Roman bishop ; that all pretensions beyond this ceremony were abusive ; in a word, that he would sooner lay down his diadem than suffer it thus to be reduced and vilified. To these sentiments, they say, themselves subscribe.—The firmness of the reply, and the unexpected concord between Frederic and his bishops, awed into milder thoughts the high spirit of Adrian. He was informed, besides, that he meditated a second journey into Italy. Other ministers were, therefore, dispatched with instructions better adapted to allay animosities ; and in the name of the pontiff and their court, with a voice and attitude which spoke submission, they saluted Frederic. The letter they brought was read. It stated, in becoming language, the pontiff's esteem for the emperor ; the anxiety his displeasure had caused him ; the indignity offered to his legates for words, which the meanest of his subjects might have heared without emotion. It explained the exceptionable clauses of the brief : that by *favour* (*beneficium*) was meant a *good deed*, and not a *fief*, as by some it had been malevolently interpreted ; that by *giving the imperial crown* was only expressed the action of placing it on his head ; and that this action, surely, must by all men be termed a *good deed* or *beneficium*.—The artful comment was accepted : Frederic was appeased, and dismissing the legates, he gave them a kiss, the signal of reconciliation to them and to their master.

At the head of a vast army, the emperor now returned into Lombardy. The Milanese, regardless of his threats, had continued to provoke his indignation. Impatiently they had borne the yoke of a foreign prince; and it was even said, that they looked to independence, and to sovereignty over the other states and cities. Thus has a contemporary writer, the uncle to Frederic, and therefore their enemy, portrayed the character of the Lombards.

" At this time, they retained no resemblance of their barbarous ancestors; rather, in their conversation and polite manners, they might be compared with the old Romans. So high was their sense of liberty, that they would not submit to the government of one man; and they annually chose their consuls, or first magistrates, from the three orders of the state, that a perfect equality might level all distinction. To increase the number of their citizens, the towns compelled all lords and gentlemen of their districts to reside within their walls, and to submit to their authority; and they permitted the lowest artisans to bear arms, a practice not seen in Germany. The cities of Italy thus became more rich and powerful, than those of other kingdoms: but also they were proud, and had little respect for their liege sovereign. With pain they saw him enter Italy; and only an armed force could secure obedience to his injunctions. Such especially was Milan, the first of these cities, haughty and refractory, whose strength was great, and whose fighting men were numerous. Some of the neighbouring towns she had subjected to her controul^d."

^d Otto de Freisingen, Vita Frid.

As the army advanced, Brescia fell before it; when assembling his ministers and the great lawyers of Italy, Frederic summoned the Milanese before him, and having pronounced the sentence of *Ban* or proscription against them, he commanded his forces to march. By this time, Parma, Cremona, Pavia, Asti, Vercelli, Como, Padua, Verona, Ferrara, Ravenna, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, with many towns of Tuscany, had joined him with more than a hundred thousand men. Milan could yet cope with this mighty host. She trusted to the strength of her walls, to the height of her towers, to the depth of her ditches full of water; but most to the valour of her citizens. Feats of great hardihood were achieved on both sides; but after some weeks, bread began to fail within the walls, and disorders raged. The district of Milan, at the same time, with all its castles, was laid waste; and not a tree or vine remained standing on its fertile plains. In this distress, the besieged capitulated, Frederic having offered conditions, to which in honour they could accede. The principal were; that they should give three hundred hostages, that the choice of their consuls should be confirmed by the emperor, and that the great regal rights (*regalia*) should belong to him^c.

In the same year, 1158, another meeting was convened on the plain of Roncaglia, the design of which was to revive the ancient rights of the crown of Italy, and to fix their limits. Consuls from all the cities were present, and four doctors from Bologna, renowned for legal science. To these the important question was proposed. Whether interest, or adulation, or fear, or truth, most influenced

their

^c Rudev. ib. Chron. Ursperg. p. 253.

their judgments, is not said; but their decision was unanimous and peremptory, that the claims of Frederic were paramount; that the great fiefs and all jurisdiction emanated from the imperial crown; that the sovereign rights unalienably belonged to him; in a word, that he was monarch of the territory. The doctrine might be agreeable to the ancient usages of Italy; but it did not apply to the circumstances of the times.—Awed by the decision, or more by the presence of a formidable army, the lords and magistrates then surrendered their rights into the hands of Frederic, whom the acclamations of his German courtiers, and the maxims of the schools, had almost persuaded, that he was sovereign master of the world. Thus closed the memorable diet of Roncaglia, and with it, for a short time, the boasted liberties of the Lombard states^f.

On the death of Roger II. in 1154, his son, William the bad, succeeded to the throne of the Sicilies. It was an extensive territory, comprising the island of Sicily, and in Italy, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria. William bore no resemblance to his noble progenitors, the princes of the Norman line, who, by their prowess alone, had founded a kingdom, and whose conduct gave splendour to the diadem^g. He possessed personal courage; but was, in other regards, weak, cruel, profligate, indolent. His favourites governed, and the people suffered; while rebellions, plots, and bloodshed filled up the measure of his reign^h. Still it was the interest of Rome to gain the friendship of a tyrant, whose power might be some barrier against the encroachments

Sicily.

^f Murat. *ibid.* Pfeffel p. 328. ^g Introduc. to Abeil. p. xlvi.

^h Murat. p. 569.

of Frederic, and Adrian courted and obtained the alliance of William. The continental possessions of the Sicilian crown were held under vassalage of the see of Rome, and mutual protection became necessary to both. It had entered into the plans of Frederic, when an occasion should offer, to attempt the subjugation of Sicily. An alluring prospect thus opened before him. The cities of Lombardy reduced, and the sceptre of Sicily torn from the hand of a weak monarch, what remained to complete his wishes? He would restore to its proper level the assumed prerogative of the pontiff, and from Rome once more give law to the subject world. It will be seen how far the glittering dream was realised.

Rome.

An event, trifling, as it may appear, in itself, but in its consequences most serious, and which, for eighteen years, engaged the attention, and divided the politics of christendom, now calls our thoughts. It was the election of Orlando de Sienna, cardinal priest of St. Mark, (whom the reader lately saw at Besançon,) to the chair of St. Peter. Three days after the death of Adrian, which happened on the first of September, 1159, the cardinals assembling, chose Orlando, who took the name of Alexander III. But three of their order, Octavian of St. Cecily, John of St. Martin, and Guido of St. Calixtus, dissented, and the two latter nominated Octavian, who called himself Victor IV. — In a moment, the church of St. Peter was a scene of the wildest confusion. The electors of Orlando put on his shoulders the scarlet mantle, (which was considered as the ceremony of investiture,) whilst he resisted, and retiring declared his unworthiness. But Octavian seized the sacred

sacred ornament; and when his violence was opposed, turning to his chaplain, he called for a mantle which he had ordered him to have in readiness. He threw it precipitately round his shoulders. The doors were opened, and bodies of armed men entered¹.

In tumults and mutual altercations the scene continued, in Rome and its neighbourhood, till the twentieth; when Alexander, who had withdrawn to some distance, was consecrated, and solemnly crowned by the cardinal bishop of Ostia, amidst the acclamations of a numerous clergy, and crowds of senators and of the Roman people.—Some days afterwards, Victor likewise was consecrated by the cardinal bishop of Tuscum.

To form a just idea of the characters of these competitors, before their exaltation to the papacy, is not easy. They were both high in the estimation of Adrian, and of his predecessor, Eugenius, and were both employed in important commissions: but Orlando was the greater and better man. He possessed a natural eloquence, was versed in literature, and knowing the world, had the address of a courtier, and the judgment of a statesman. He was benevolent and mild, temperate and forbearing, prudent and unirrascible; but firm and perseverant. In circumstances less turbulent, Orlando had been a treasure to the church; yet in those very circumstances, no one, it may be said, could have acted better. When the tiara was first presented to him, he put it by, as it seemed, with unaffected humility; but no sooner had it touched his brows, than he adhered to it with the pertinacity of a man, who, through

¹ Acta Alex. ap. Baron. Radev. c. 51. .

life, should have made it the object of all his pursuits.—Octavian was ambitious. Noble as he was by birth, this passion had been pardonable, had he attempted its gratification by honourable means. His virtues were few; and as the qualities of his mind were not great, so were his acquirements proportionable. He had experience, however, and was versed in policy and court intrigue. By the latter he deemed it possible to make his way to power; and he sought for power through dissensions and strife. Had Alexander been unopposed, general harmony would have given strength to his government, and success to his plans. This harmony Octavian violated. The blow was fatal to the peace of the church, and the execrations of millions followed him to the grave^k.—As the portraits are taken from the charged sketches of prejudiced historians, their future conduct will best delineate the real characters of the men.

Aware that he would be inclined to countenance his rival, Alexander, after his enthronation, dispatched nuncios to Frederic, who was in Lombardy, informing him of his promotion, and requesting his friendship. With difficulty he was persuaded to see them; but he returned no answer.—The cardinals in the interest of Alexander, twenty two in number, likewise wrote to Frederic. They related the circumstances of the two elections, as given above; and they entreated him, as protector of the church, to espouse her interest, and not to patronise Octavian, the schismatical invader of her holy see^l.

* Acta ap. Baron. Moreri, &c.

^l Ibid.

Victor was more successful. In a letter, addressed to the bishops and nobles at Frederic's court, he reminded them of the friendship he had ever manifested to their master and to them; and he intreated their good offices, at the perilous moment, when Peter's ship was shaken by the storm, and the imperial dignity was itself threatened to be obscured. He mentioned his promotion, without detailing its circumstances, which was effected, he said, by the choice of the cardinals, the petition of the clergy, and with the consent of the senators and the people. "But should any address come to you from Orlando," he concluded, "once chancellor of the Roman see, whom a conspiracy against the church and the empire has devoted to William of Sicily, and who, the twelfth day after our election, forced himself into our chair, reject it, as full of lies, and as written by a heretic^m." — But the cardinals of his faction, who now were five, in a letter directed also to the emperor's court, entered more fully on the question. They observed; that since Adrian, in 1156, formed an alliance with the king of Sicily, there had been divisions in the sacred college; that when Frederic with an armed force first entered Italy, the friends to the Sicilian had urged Adrian to excommunicate him, which blow they (the present party of Victor) had warded off; that the same faction had solemnly engaged themselves, ever to oppose the measures of the emperor, and to raise no one to the papacy whose sentiments should differ from their own; that, after the interment of Adrian, both parties, notwithstanding, had consented to meet, and by an unanimous vote

^m Acta et Radovic. ib.

vote to elect his successor; that the Sicilian faction, on the third day, violating this agreement, had chosen Orlando, and that themselves, at that crisis, had voted for Octavian; that, in spite of every remonstrance, when they saw them preparing to clothe their favourite, (but had not done it,) they had brought forward Octavian, and investing him with the scarlet mantle, had placed him in the chair, with the applause of the people, the clergy, the senate, and the nobles; that the faction with Orlando first retired to the castle, where they remained more than eight days, and then quitting Rome, withdrew to Cisterna; that here, on the twelfth day only, they first clothed him, and on the following Sunday performed his consecration; that, some days after that, on the first Sunday in October, Octavian received his consecration, having, on the day of election, in the church of St. Peter, been canonically invested with the mantle^a.

Frederic, thus made umpire, as it seemed, between the contending factions, with the advice of his friends, resolved to convene a general synod. The measure did not exceed the limits of his power, as it had been before practised; and by what other means could the controversy be decided? Deputies were, therefore, named to wait on the popes, citing them to appear before the council. He wrote to Alexander, and to the cardinals of his party, and to the prelates of the empire and the principal kingdoms of Europe. He tells Alexander, whom he calls Orlando, and his cardinals, that to terminate the schism which had risen in the church, 'he, as the guardian of her laws, had purposed

^a Acta et Radovic. ib.

purposed to call a synod at Pavia, where the prelates of christendom should meet, and bring the point to issue. He commands them to obey the summons, and offers them a safe-conduct. Should they refuse; God, he says, shall judge between them, and he, as becomes the majesty of the Roman emperor, will maintain the cause of justice. "God is my witness," he concludes, "not led by love or hatred to any man, I seek only his honour and the unity of his church*."

He tells the bishops of christendom, that the cardinals of Rome having chosen two heads to the church, he had deemed it his duty to oppose the evils which must ensue; that, agreeably to the judgment of the wisest and best men, and to the decrees of former popes, and the ecclesiastical canons, he had ordered a council to meet at Pavia; and that Orlando and Octavian were cited to appear before it. He then begs the attendance of each bishop, requesting they will come with a candid mind, having permitted no prejudication to influence their decision ^p.

The deputies, arriving at Anagni, where Alexander was, entered the palace, and without ceremony, took their seats in his presence. They then announced their commission, and gave him the emperor's letter. His friends were round him. As the letter was read, terror and perplexity gathered on their countenances. On one side, the anger of Frederic menaced; and the liberty of the church, on the other, seemed exposed to danger. Finally, however, they resolved, after long deliberation, not to desert the cause of Alexander and the church; whatever perils they

they might incur ; when himself rose before the deputies, and spoke :

" I admit, he said, that the emperor is the advocate
 " and the guardian of the Roman church, and I am dis-
 " posed to shew him honour above the princes of the
 " earth, when the honour of the king of kings is not
 " concerned. Surprised I am then, that he should have
 " disregarded my honour, and transgressed the respectful
 " limits of his predecessors, in convening a synod without
 " my participation, and citing me before it. To St. Peter,
 " and through him to the church of Rome, Christ gave
 " this privilege, that she definitively should judge the dis-
 " putes of other churches, herself unjudged by all. And
 " her protector shall now himself infringe this privilege !
 " Canonical tradition and the venerable authority of the
 " fathers, permit me not to go to his court, or to submit
 " to his award. Princes, in other kingdoms, take not to
 " themselves the cognizance of such causes : they refer
 " them to their metropolitans, or to the apostolic see.
 " Highly culpable, then, should I be, if, from ignorance
 " or want of courage, I permitted the evil to begin at the
 " head, and the church to be inthralled. To support this
 " liberty our fathers spilt their blood ; and, should the
 " times require it, I also, after their example, am ready
 " to bare my breast to danger."

The delegates heard the bold address, and leaving Alexander, repaired to Octavian at Segni. He received them with much kindness ; and they saluted him, with the usual ceremony, prostrate at his feet.—The views and inclinations
 of

of Frederic were thus at once manifested, and it appeared how little he regarded the advice of dispassionate judgment, which, with seeming candour, he had inculcated to others.—Victor, with great alacrity, received his proposal, and consented to submit his cause to the voice of the council^r.

Such were the first acts of this extraordinary event, which, the more it is examined and detailed in its various parts, the more it seems involved in darkness. The scattered rays of truth; which, on other occasions, the historian thinks he can collect, are here all dissipated, as if the language of party and its most solemn statements were the less to be credited, the more they bore the semblance of honour and veracity.—Alexander, in refusing to appear before Frederic's council, and to await its sentence, acted most impolitely. He should have known that the measure was not unprecedented, and therefore not inconsistent with the dignity of the station, to which he deemed himself canonically raised. How else was the schism to be terminated? And who so competent to interfere as the emperor Frederic? That he was not his friend, Alexander, indeed, knew; and he might fear his preponderating influence. Still, as the majority of votes had rendered his election canonical, he should have met his enemies with confidence. The haughty language he assumed, was dictated by the spirit which Gregory VII. had raised in the church^s; but in the emergency of a competitor, at least, it ill became Alexander; it irritated the emperor; and was a cause of triumph to his opponents.

^r Acta ib.

^s Hist. of Abel. p. 23:

Victor's conduct was guided by a better policy. What truth there was in the circumstances of his election, as exhibited by his friends, cannot be ascertained; but himself seemed not inclined to rely too confidently on them. With Frederic on his side, he had reason to imagine that his cause, though weak, might finally prevail; nor would he deprive it of any adventitious strength, which lay within his own reach to give it. His will should be a law to him; he would meet him in his synod at Pavia; and profes to abide its sentence. The good sense of this determination created him many friends, and it gave an air of sincerity to his proceedings, which the cause wanted, and which the outset of the busines, as generally understood, was not calculated to produce.

On the behaviour of Frederic, which many historians, partial to Alexander, have severely censured, much might be said. Agreeably to the plan he had laid for the subjugation of Italy, a pontiff, not averse from his general schemes, of some pliancy of character, and not too elate with the notions of prerogative, it was natural he should wish to patronise. To him Alexander was personally obnoxious, and he might well suspect that the sacred college meant a pointed insult, when they raised him to the chair; for he it was, who, but the year before, in the diet at Besançon, had braved him to his beard. Perhaps also there was truth in the report, that a plot, in favour of the Sicilian king, had been formed against him, and that, in consequence thereof, the votes fell on Orlando. The treaty with William of Sicily was a fact of notoriety. These things considered, a prince, less vindictive and less ambitious than

than Frederic was, may be allowed to have favoured the rival of his enemy, particularly when it could be done under the shew of equity and the love of order. Let it also be added, that so complicated was the story of the election, in its different views, and which the council of Pavia, as will be seen, did not at all elucidate, that, without any previous bias, a man of real sincerity might have erred. That the elections of both were irregular, I have no doubt; but the reception of the christian world, at length, gave validity to that of Alexander. Frederic, in the mean while, was strenuous for his friend, and prepared for the synod of Pavia. It was the end of the year 1159.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E I G N
O F
K I N G H E N R Y T H E S E C O N D,

With the E V E N T S of the Period.

B O O K I.

Council of Pavia.—Alexander and Victor.—Henry and Louis.—War in Lombardy.—Alexander retires to France.—Becket chosen archbishop of Canterbury.—Change in his life and manners.—Council of Tours.—Dispute between Henry and his bishops.—Conduct of the primate.—Meeting at Clarendon.—Its constitutions.—Becket repents of his weakness.—The king applies to Alexander.—Becket attempts to leave the kingdom.—Death of Victor, and the affairs of Lombardy.—Meeting at Northampton.—Brief account of the Anglo-Norman government and polity.—Power of the king.—National council.—King's court.—County court.—Revenue of the crown.—Army.—Navy.—Laws.—Degrees of nobility.—Inferior ranks and bondmen.

AS the kingdoms of Europe were all engaged in the business of the schism, the other concerns of policy or religion, of war or peace, seemed to be absorbed in it.

BOOK I

Embal-

BOOK I. Embassadors were sent to the courts, particularly of the English and French kings, and secret emissaries were employed, by both parties, to forward their respective interests. The kings, in the conflict of such various opinions, prudently withheld their judgment: the bishops, as character or interest directed; precipitately engaged; or waited till time or better documents should clear the uncertain medium; and the people, as their teachers inclined, were sometimes for Victor, and sometimes for Alexander. The decision of Europe hung in suspense; but Frederic, who felt a nearer interest, and who moved on the scene, had wisely planned his measures; and he now announced the opening of the council at Pavia for the fifth of February.

1160.
Council of
Pavia.

It assembled. Not more than fifty prelates were there from Germany and the Italian states; but abbots and other religious superiors exceeded calculation^a. Delegates from different nations, from France and England, were also there. Frederic took his seat, and spoke: “Although, as emperor, I know that I have authority to convene councils, particularly when the church is thus exposed to danger, (for so did Constantine and many of my predecessors;) yet to you, fathers, I entrust the decision of this important business. The Almighty has made you his ministers, and he gave you power to judge me. In the concerns of religion I pretend not to interfere: conduct yourselves, therefore, and decide in this affair, as having only God for your judge.” He pronounced the solemn address, and withdrew, leaving the synod to free deliberation^b. Victor was present,

^a Radev. c. 64.

^b Ibid.

For seven days the question was debated, when Victor, whose cause had been powerfully supported, was declared duly elected; and they condemned Alexander, who, having been canonically cited, had contumaciously, it was said, refused to appear^c.

The mass of evidence brought before the council, by the heads of the Roman clergy, and other persons of distinction, who solemnly declared they had been witnesses to every transaction, all tended to prove, that Octavian was invested with the scarlet mantle, and publicly enthroned in the chair of St. Peter, at the petition of the people, and with the consent of the clergy, in the presence even of Orlando, and unopposed by him and his friends, eleven days before the election of the latter. The circumstantial evidence is recorded by the historian, who assisted at the synod^d.

The sentence of the council was carried to the emperor, who received it with respect, and approved it. Victor was then conducted to the church, surrounded by the clergy, and proclaimed by the people, *sovereign pontiff and universal pope*. Frederic waited at the door, and bowed as he approached; then taking him by the hand, he led him to his seat, and kneeling kissed his slipper^e.—Soon afterwards he wrote to the archbishop of Salzburg and his suffragans, informing them of the events of the council, and insisting principally on the conspiracy formed against himself, during the life of Adrian, as I have related, in consequence of which, he says, Alexander had been chosen, and of that conspiracy, he adds, fresh evidence had appeared.—This circumstance,

as

^c Id. c. 65.^d Radovic. in Frid.^e Id.

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1160.

as we learn from other letters written to the same German prelate, and the non-appearance of Alexander, operated principally in favour of Victor. It was prudently apprehended, should the nomination of the former be confirmed, that discord would for ever divide the empire and the church^f.

A circular letter was also sent to every christian state by the presidents of the council. They detail its principal circumstances, and conclude with a prayer, that the sentence pronounced at Pavia may be received by the universal church, as fixed and irrevocable.

Alexander
and
Victor.

Alexander, in the mean time, surrounded by his friends at Anagni, waited unabashed the issue of the meeting. A sentence of excommunication had been pronounced against him at Pavia, but he was prepared to meet it. He called on Frederic to repent, and when he was deaf to his admonitions, him he excommunicated; he renewed the censure against Victor and his adherents; and, in imitation of some of his predecessors, he absolved from their allegiance the subjects of the empires. Legates were then sent to the different courts, and into the east, and to Constantinople. The representations from Pavia were thus powerfully counteracted. They insisted that the right of election, by the constitution and canons of the church, resided in the college of cardinals, a great majority of whom had elected Alexander; that the story of Victor's investiture, as exhibited by his friends, was a notorious fable; that the meeting at Pavia was rather a German diet, called by the emperor, who had previously espoused Octavian, and which

^f Id. c. 71, 72.

^g Acta Alex. ap. Baron.

which was devoted to his interest, and awed by a military force; that deputies from Alexander would have gone to Pavia, not to submit to its sentence, but to relate the circumstances of his election, could it have been done without the peril of their lives; that were the characters of the competitors impartially viewed, every friend to virtue and religion would declare for Alexander, and reject with horror the impudent and daring Victor^b.

In England and France great exertions were made, and Alexander at last triumphed. Their ambassadors at Pavia had prudently given no opinion; but by the activity, principally of the bishop of Lisieux, a learned man, and in great favour with Henry, whose subject he was, the cause of Alexander was rapidly promoted in all the dominions of the two kings. It was much the interest of both that no religious controversy should divide their subjects. The emperor had some interest in the mind of Henry, and he had even sent his chancellor into France, that the most marked attention might give weight to the sentence of the council. It did not succeed. The kings proceeded with great deliberation; but they were not disposed to patronise the schemes of Frederic, of whose power they had already ample reason to be jealous, and they rather despised the pious affectation and the unseemly interference of him and his German soldiers, in the concerns of the church. They took the sense of their clergy, in two separate meetings, in both of which the election of Alexander was declared to be canonical. At the same time, by the king's order, a council was held in England, which ended in the same decision.

^b Baron. an. 1160.

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1160.

On this Alexander was publicly acknowledged, and both churches, with their kings, submitted to his authority¹.—The bishop of Lisieux relates, that so great a horror had Henry of the person of Octavian, that when a letter from that schismatic was presented to him, he would not touch it with his hand; but receiving it on a chip, which he picked from the dust, he threw it violently behind his back, to the great amusement of the spectators.

1161.

We have not yet done with the first transactions of this memorable quarrel. The following year, 1161, two other councils were convened. At Toulouse, the two kings, willing to give greater solemnity to the cause they had espoused, accompanied by their barons, met the prelates and abbots of their realms. Embassadors from the emperor and the king of Spain attended, and legates from the popes. Cardinal Guido of Crema, the elector of Victor, and now, with John of St. Martin, his representative at Toulouse, was first heared. He spoke with eloquence, and with much address supported his master's cause. Cardinal William of Pavia, one of Alexander's legates, replied. He had the character of a great orator, but the sincerity of his attachment to what was deemed the orthodox party, had been suspected. On a visit to his friends at Pavia, during the celebration of the synod, he assisted at it, and did not oppose the torrent, though truth and justice, it was said, were carried down in the stream². He was now more active. He refuted the arguments of his adversary, and laid the evidence of truth before the eyes of the council. Alexander was declared to have

¹ Joan. Sarisb. ep. 64, 65. Arnulp. ep. ap. Baron. Neubrig. l. 2. c. 9.

² Baron. an. 1160.

have been canonically chosen; the kings confirmed the sentence; and Victor with his associates was again anathematized¹.

BOOK I.
1161.

In revenge, another meeting was convened at Lodi by Victor and Frederic, wherein the proceedings of Pavia were confirmed, and a long list of censures pronounced against the adverse party.² It was as numerously attended, and as respectable, as that of Toulouse^m.—Thus in mutual recriminations, and the horrid war of anathemas, passed the first years of this inauspicious period. Alexander resided at Anagni, in the territories of the Sicilian king; for he could not enter Rome, where a powerful faction opposed him: and Victor was generally in the court of Frederic, whom great concerns still detained in Lombardy.

As yet the interests of the rival popes were not unequally poised. On the side of Alexander were the kingdoms of France, of England, of Spain, as far as the christian interest then extended, and of Sicily.—With Victor stood the empire with its dependent states, and the northern kingdoms of Denmark and Norway.—Rome itself was rather with Victor; and on each side were many inferior states and prelates, of whom some remained neutral, while others, uninfluenced by the judgment of the majority, chose to think for themselves.—But it must not be forgotten, that the Latin church in Palestine adhered to Alexander, and that even the Grecian emperor of Constantinople, with his patriarchs, princes, bishops, clergy, and people acknowledged the legality of his election, though they rejected his communion, and ridiculed his claim to

¹ *Ncubrig. c. 9.*

^m *Chron. Lauden. sub an. 1161.*

supremacy over the eastern church. Alexander had solicited the vain approbation. Emanuel Comnenus could not remain a mere spectator, while a question of some magnitude agitated the western world; and besides, he was jealous of the spreading honours of Frederic, and idly projected, as will be seen, to strengthen his feeble arm by the recovery of nominal empire.

Henry and
Louis.

While Henry and Louis, with uncommon accord, thus laboured to pacify Europe, or perhaps only to thwart the machinations of Frederic, other events had engaged their attention. Louis lost Constantia, his second queen; and as a male heir was still wanting to the throne, (for she also had left two daughters only,) the lords of the council urged him again to marry. Pliant and condescending as he was, in less than fourteen days, he took to his arms Adelaide, the sister of the earl of Champagne, whose brothers were the counts of Blois and Sancerre. The connection displeased Henry. The earls were nephews to Stephen, late king of England, who could not be his friends, as he had dispossessed their family of a throne; and the elevation of their sister would naturally draw them nearer to Louis, and give them weight in his councils.

I have related what were the conditions of the marriage treaty between the eldest son of Henry and the daughter of the French king*. She was to be educated under the eye of her future father, and the castles of Gisors, Neufle, and Neuchatel were appointed for her dower. In the subsequent treaty of peace, it seems to have been stipulated, that the whole Norman Vexin, with the castles, should

should be surrendered to Henry, for the use of his son, within three years, or sooner, if the parties should be espoused with the consent of the church^o. Henry was now desirous that it should be no longer in the power of Louis to revoke the contract. The new connection he had made gave rise to some anxiety, as the prince and princess were as yet infants, and he saw that the politics of France might soon be turned into another channel.

The legates of Alexander were in France. To them the English monarch applied for a dispensation, which would at once remove the objection that might be drawn from the infant state of the parties, and effectually establish the necessary condition, *the consent of the church*. It is well known of what consequence, at that critical moment, were to Alexander the support and good will of Henry. To have refused his petition was dangerous, and yet to grant it might be displeasing to Louis. But the legates were aware, which of the two monarchs could be most easily ruled, and they granted the dispensation. The French king, we are told, was scandalized at their too easy conduct^p; but probably he was not less affected to find himself thus overreached, as he might think, by the politic prince, and be compelled to surrender the important forts, which, in the ordinary course of things, should have remained longer in his power. The nuptials between the infants were celebrated; and Henry demanded the castles, which were instantly delivered into his hands, by the knights templars, to whose custody they had been committed. — Though in the transaction, considering the tenor of the treaty, there might

^o Life of Hen. vol. ii. p. 116.

^p Arnulp. ep. 23.

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might be nothing fraudulent; yet honourable surely it was not, and little did it accord with that open and manly spirit, which, as historians too encomiastic have proclaimed, uniformly animated the breast of Henry. The writers, most contemporary with the event, represent it in colours not favourable to their king, and seem to have known nothing of the extraordinary clause in the second treaty, which I mentioned ⁴.

The honest Louis, roused by the insult, with his usual impetuosity, flew to arms. His new relations joined in the quarrel, and fortifying Chaumont, a castle bordering on Touraine, threatened from thence to lay waste the territory of the enemy. The enemy was prepared, and with uncommon alertness frustrated their designs. In the Norman Vexin, the two armies often approached within sight, and as often retired. They feared one another; and this was a moment for the mediation of friends. The legates interfered, and a truce was concluded.—If these servants of an ambitious master, sedulous to extend the vain prerogative of his court, be accused of sowing discord, and of breaking asunder the sacred tie which binds the prince and the people, also it must be said that, often they were heralds of peace, and obstructed, by their mediation, the effusion of human blood.

War in Lombardy.

Frederic also, though pledged to support the schism, would not permit it to engross his thoughts. The plan he had formed for the subjugation of Lombardy, he pursued unremittingly. His officers by their exactions daily irritated

the

⁴ Neubrig. c. 24. Hoveden. an. 1161.

Chron. Norman. an. 1161, Neubrig. c. 24.

the proud republicans, and it did not seem that either they or their master were disposed to comply with the terms on which Milan had capitulated. The utter subversion of their liberty, they had reason to apprehend, could alone gratify the ambitious monarch. He commanded the Milanese to suppress their consuls, and to accept magistrates from him; and because Crema was their ally, he insisted that they should level their walls, and fill up their ditches. Neither of them obeyed the imperious mandate. They had no resource but in their arms. The Milanese, in great force, left their walls, and falling suddenly on Trezzo, a castle where the emperor's money was kept, they took it by storm, seized his treasure, and with it a strong garrison of German soldiers².

The empress Beatrix, duke Henry the Lion, and other princes, now joined the imperial standard, with great reinforcements. For agreeably to the military service, in the feudal system, an army of vassals, like the ocean, perpetually ebbed and flowed. Thus strengthed, he marched, in fury, against Crema. Fourteen hundred Milanese had, in the mean time, flown to the succour of their friends. Prodigies of valour, says the historian who viewed the siege from the emperor's camp, were done on both sides; and the machines of war, then employed to throw stones, caused dreadful devastation. The men of Cremona, who fought for Frederick, and whose animosity against the besieged was great, filling two hundred casks with earth, rolled them into the ditch, and on them pushed forward a wooden castle. It overlooked the walls. A shower of broken rocks

BOOK I. from the enemy instantly thundered on its sides, and it tottered to the lowest planks. Frederic ordered the hostages, he had before received from Crema, and Milanese prisoners, of noble blood, to be exposed, bound, on the summit of the tower. The besieged viewed the horrid spectacle, but did not relent in their exertions. Nine of the unfortunate men were slain, when the survivors were withdrawn from the slaughter. A scene of dreadful retaliation ensued. The German and other prisoners were brought out on the walls, and butchered in the sight of Frederic and his army. In such bloodshed and cruel feats did the siege continue for almost six months, and no efforts of the assailants could abate the resistance of these desperate men. But their chief engineer deserted to the enemy; and fatigue, sleepless nights, and unwholesome feed, wore them down. They implored the mediation of duke Henry, a prince humane and generous, as Frederic was relentless and severe, and of Peregrinus, patriarch of Aquileia, the fast friend to Victor and his cause. But they could only obtain, that the allies should quit the place unarmed, and the inhabitants of Crema with what each could carry. "They had their last
 " adieu to those walls they had so nobly defended, and came
 " out bearing on their shoulders what they held most
 " dear, their infants, their infirm wives, and aged parents." Crema was then pillaged; and the fire and the hammer soon laid it in the dust.¹

Milan was yet unconquered. The emperor, with his Italian allies, fell upon their territories; but they every where resisted, and meeting him in the field, they defeated

part

¹ Radev. ibid. Leudense Chron, an. 1160. Murat. ibid.

part of his army, and forced himself to retire. The period of service being expired, the German vassals, as usual, after the destruction of Crema, had gone home. In spring they returned, and with them many more princes and prelates, at the head of their contingent of troops. His brother Conrad came; Frederic, his cousin, duke of Swabia; the landgrave of Hesse; and the son of the king of Bohemia. No one shone more brilliant than Rinaldo, the newly elected archbishop of Cologne, who marched with five hundred horse. Thus reinforced, Frederic once more turned his face towards Milan, and on the last days of March, 1161, encompassed it with his mighty host.

Experience had now taught him, that his machines against the walls of Milan would be spent in useless rage; that the courage of its citizens was unsurmountable; and that hunger and distress could alone subdue them. As he had done before, he therefore, fifteen miles round, destroyed all the produce of the earth, and so guarded the passes that not the smallest aid could enter. He himself sat down at Lodi, a town in the neighbourhood, expecting, with full impatience, the dreadful effect of his measures. The effect soon took place. Want of provisions created famine, and famine pestilence. Deputies waited on the emperor, offering on the part of the citizens, to beat down their walls, and to fill their ditches. " You shall surrender at discretion;" said he, advised to it by some of the princes, but chiefly by his Italian allies, who hated Milan. The next day, the four consuls came; and they swore on their swords, which were naked in their hands, to do the

* Auctores ut supra.

BOOK I.

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will of Frederic, and promised that the people should swear the same. Early on the next morning, five hundred horsemen advanced with the banners and keys of the city, and laid them at the conqueror's feet. He demanded four hundred hostages; while twelve commissioners were sent to receive from the people the promised oath of submission. With his court he then proceeded to Pavia, whence an order was dispatched to the consuls that, "within eight days, the citizens, men and women, evacuate the city." The order was complied with. The nobility and principal inhabitants retired to the neighbouring towns: but the poor, and the disconsolate populace, loitered about the monasteries which were built near the walls, hoping that some pity might be left in the victor's breast, and that they should be permitted to return to their houses. The next day, he entered Milan with his troops, and, on a signal, consigned it to general pillage. Nothing was spared; not the wealth of the citizens, nor the ornaments of the churches. This done, he pronounced the last fatal decree, that "the city be destroyed to its foundations."

But desirous, probably, that the odium of the savage work should not fall on his Germans, he entrusted its execution to his Lombard soldiers, and allotted to each division the several quarters of the town. With the ferocity of their ancestors, and the vengeance of more than human hatred, they performed their commission. They were the men of Pavia, of Cremona, of Lodi, of Novara, and of Como. The proud palaces of Milan, its churches, its ancient monuments, and its walls with a hundred towers, soon lay prostrate in the dust. The metropolitan church

of

of St. Ambrose was alone permitted to stand; but the Gothic ravager ordered its tower to be lowered, which for its height and exquisite workmanship had been viewed with admiring wonder. On the following Sunday, which was the last of Lent,^{*} Frederic entered this awful temple he had sacrilegiously profaned, and, with affected devotion, amidst its ruins, received the blessed olive branch from the hand of the officiating minister. He returned to Pavia, where, in solemn pomp, he kept his Easter, and appeared before the people crowned with the imperial diadem. Two years before he had vowed never to wear it more, till Milan should be vanquished. The news of its destruction spread a general terror, and the towns of Italy trembled at the name of Barbarossa^u

Brescia, the ally of Milan, and Placentia, now voluntarily surrendered to the victor, and accepted his hard conditions. These were; to receive a magistrate from him, to level their fortifications, to give up their castles, to pay a large sum of money, and to follow him to war. Alike terms were prescribed to Bologna, and to other towns of less note. — Thus from the Alps to the gates of Rome, every city, and every fortress, bowed the neck to this formidable prince. It was time he should shew his laurels in Germany, and attend to the concerns of Victor.

I have been particular in detailing these events, because they are interesting in themselves and in their consequences; and because the contemporary historians are diffuse in their narrations. The adulatory praise they give to

^u Murat. an. 1162. Chron. Lauden. & Uispurg. ibid.

BOOK I.

1161.

Frederic I would not transcribe. We learn what was his real character; we see the spirit of the Lombards, and the manner in which towns were defended and attacked. The engines they used resembled those of the ancient Romans: indeed, till the discovery of gunpowder, it could only be by battering the walls, that any impression could be made. When a breach was effected, they stormed with swords, battle-axes, and ponderous clubs of iron. But I shall afterwards have occasion to treat more distinctly of the military art of those days, in which the emperor, above the rest, seems principally to have excelled. He was emulous of a soldier's fame.

1162.

Alexander
goes into
France.

Alexander had quitted Campania, where he resided at Anagni, protected by the king of Sicily, and had returned to Rome. But the faction of Octavian, which was powerful, the disaffection, at that time, of the Romans themselves to papal government*, and the great interest of Frederic, soon forced him to withdraw. Again he retired into Campania; and as his friends urged him to depart from a country, which no longer merited the blessing of his presence, he resolved to seek for an asylum in France. At Terracine four galleys were prepared, by his Sicilian majesty, to receive him. He appointed a vicar at Rome, and sailed. Through many perils he arrived first at Genoa, and thence, after a successful voyage, landing on the French coast, he proceeded, with all his retinue, to Montpellier. On a white hackney, habited in his pontifical robes, and surrounded by a countless multitude, he entered the populous city. He was happy that could approach him.

* Hist. of Abeil. p. 351.

him. The barons of the province were there with their vassals, and the governor at the head of his troops: they advanced in order, and kissed his feet. Stricken by the unusual spectacle, a Saracen prince, who was present, with his attendants fell prostrate, and “ adored the pontiff, as ‘ the god of the christians.’ ” By an interpreter, he then addressed him in his master’s name. Alexander returned an affable answer, and with the nobles, says my author, ordered him to take an honourable place at his feet*. — Many prelates of the Gallican church soon crowded to Montpellier. Before them, Alexander harangued the people: he related the circumstances of his election, inveighed against the insolence of his enemies, and again solemnly excommunicated Octavian and his adherents.

When Louis heared that the pope was in Languedoc, he sent deputies to him. By the address of his new queen, or of her brother, the count of Champagne, who were related, it is said, to Victor, some change, it seems, had taken place in the dispositions of Louis, and of this Alexander had been apprised. He received the deputies coolly, which so far irritated the monarch, that he acquainted his brother-in-law of it, and commissioned him to wait on the emperor. The cloud soon passed over. Legates of great respect came from the pope, requesting that their master might be informed, in what part of the kingdom, it would be most agreeable to his Majesty, for him to reside. They were well received, we know; for at their return, Alexander left Montpellier, and came to Clermont in Auvergne^y.

Frederic,

* Acta ap. Bar. an. 1162.

^y Fleury from Duchefne t. 4. p. 416, &c. Acta ibid.

Frederic, in the mean while, advised by the earl of Champagne, projected a solemn conference, at which the prelates and lords of both kingdoms should be present, and where the pretensions of the rival popes should again be discussed. St. Jean de Laune, on the borders of Burgundy, situated on the Saone, then the frontier of France, was thought the most proper place. The king, anxious to give peace to the church, consented to the proposal; but the artful nobleman was careful not to acquaint him with the articles of the convention he had settled with the emperor. The latter had left Italy, and now hastened towards Burgundy, escorted by a noble train of princes, prelates, and a military guard. Victor also was with him. The French king was not less splendidly attended. On the way he met Alexander, who refused to accompany him to the conference, again pleading the privilege of the Roman see. "It is strange," observed Louis, "that, feeling; as you do, the justice of your cause, you should decline this trial²."

The circumstances of the conference, which ensued, are so variously related, that no accurate statement can be made. The earl of Champagne, it seems, had promised more than his master was disposed to comply with; and when the latter consented to stand to the agreement of his minister, the emperor, in his turn, receded. He saw that it would not be possible to gain the point he had in view; either to set aside both the popes, and elect a new one; or to confirm irrevocably the nomination of Victor. In feigned excuses and insincere proposals many days thus passed.

² Fleury from Duchesne t. iv. p. 416, &c. Acta ibid.

passed. The king, at last, availing himself of the non-appearance of Frederic at a certain interview, he had engaged to attend, suddenly withdrew, and the assembly was dissolved. It is also related, that the approach of the king of England, with a great force, to support the cause of Alexander, against the menaces of the emperor, contributed not a little to the abrupt termination of the conference^a.

Alexander, during these transactions, was at Bourgdieu, a monastery in Aquitaine, waiting, in anxious solicitude, the uncertain issue of the conference. Here he was visited by Henry, who, being informed of the event of the meeting, would proceed no further. Prostrate on the ground he kissed the feet of his holiness; then rising, he offered him rich presents of gold, and was permitted to kiss his lips. But he declined the honour of a chair, which was prepared for him, and, with his barons, took his seat on the floor. Three days he spent with Alexander, and left him, much charmed with the interview^b.—The two kings themselves soon after met at Couci sur Loire, where they received the pontiff. They walked on foot by his side, each holding a rein of his horse's bridle, and shewed him to his tent; exhibiting such a spectacle, says Baronius, to God, to angels, and to men, as hitherto the world had not seen!

And shall it be matter of surprise to the reader, who can at all appreciate human nature in her most ordinary operations, that the bishops of Rome, when kings thus wantonly crouched at their feet, or performed the office of menial vassals, should have thought themselves their superiors?

^a Acta ap. Bar. an. 1162.

^b Acta ibid. Rob. de Monte an. 1162.

BOOK I.

1162.

riors? It was by a ceremony far less obsequious, that, in those times, feudal homage was made, and subjection manifested. To have refused such honours, came not within the reach of common nature: and hitherto has not been proved that the popes were more than men. In process of time, they demanded, I know, as their right, what, at first, was the effect of adulation or of a mistaken zeal. Nor can this be deemed extraordinary. Their courtiers, besides, and their courtly canonists, declared it was their due; and they upheld the assertion by the authority of long usage, of ancient decrees, which a sound criticism had not investigated, and of passages from scripture too figuratively explained. But if events or opinions, belonging to a period so distant from our own, can really excite our wonder; the occasion rather should be, not that the popes were pleased with power, and aimed to retain a pre-eminence which they had once acquired; but that kings and civil magistrates, ignorant of their own rights, should have themselves begun and have perpetuated the extravagance: Here common sense alone was a sufficient guide; whereas, in the other case, it is expected that the ordinary passions of men should lose their character, or cease to operate!

Becket chosen
archbishop of
Canterbury.

Theobald, the archbishop of Canterbury, had been some months dead, and no successor was appointed to the important charge. Engaged in the troubles of the schism, and in other transactions, which detained him in Normandy, Henry was unable to attend minutely to the concerns of government at home. The nomination of a proper person to the primacy of England, was a matter of great moment, as, since the conquest particularly, it had been seen, how much

much the peace of the kingdom, and the happiness of the prince, could be affected by its influence. That there were many candidates for the high dignity, cannot be doubted; but Henry, with great prudence, seems to have weighed the characters of his clergy, and to have judged for himself. It has been related, with what fidelity, the chancellor had served his master, in civil and in military offices. He was with him in the field and cabinet: and as his abilities had excited his admiration, and his personal qualities procured his love, the whole character of the man was open to him. He was a churchman, besides, being in deacon's orders, and the late archbishop, a prelate of great worth, had raised him to the archdeaconry of his see. When a primate was wanted for England, how naturally, therefore, would it occur to Henry that no one could be so proper as his chancellor; and he would flatter himself, that he, whom hitherto he had found so able, and so attached to his interest, would not cease to be so when entrusted with other concerns. The worldly spirit he had till now exhibited, could not be a serious obstacle to his promotion, as the business in which he had been engaged was of a nature to call for a display, sometimes, of martial prowess, and sometimes, of courtly munificence. Also, from the knowledge of his character, which years of intimacy had confirmed, he must have been aware, that the qualities of his mind which had made the statesman and the soldier, were yet ample enough to fill the wide sphere of the first pracy in his dominions. As the object he had in view was great, and we are told that he augured much success, from the choice he was making, in the general administration of

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ecclesiastical and civil concerns^c, it is not probable that, at that time, he had formed any design of breaking in upon the established maxims and immunities of the church. Not to have discovered the real cast of Becket's mind, while he could have no motive to disguise it, argues little penetration in Henry; and if he knew it, which he must, how project a scheme for the humiliation of the church, and then appoint a prelate to be her guide, who would oppose that very scheme, and meet him, he was aware, in every attempt!

Henry took his resolution. He was at Falaise in Normandy, and as some affairs were to be transacted in England, he ordered the chancellor to go over.^d "But," added he privately to him, "you may not know, possibly, what is my principal design: I mean you should be archbishop of Canterbury." The chancellor smiled, and pointing to his garment, which was not very canonical, said; "truly, "you are going to raise to that great see, and to place at the head of the monks of Canterbury, a very edifying personage, it seems. But should it so happen, mark, Sir; "the friendship which is now between us will not continue long. You will expect compliances from me, which I shall not be disposed to grant. Already your majesty is making encroachments on the liberties of the church^d." —But when the king was once fixed, he did not easily recede; and the cardinal legates, who were there, joined their influence to that of the monarch. Thomas, urged by a master whom he loved, reluctantly consented^e; and orders were immediately dispatched to the monks of Canterbury and the

^c Hoveden. p. 292. Vita c. 6.^d Vita c. 6.^e Ibid.

the suffragans of the see, to proceed to his election. Matilda, it is said, disapproved of the measure; and among the bishops and clergy, doubtless there were some, who, from various motives, might wish to obstruct his promotion^f. All opposition, however, (if any there was,) finally gave way to the positive determination of the king.

His election was made, unopposed by any, at Westminster, in the presence of the young prince, to whom he had lately been appointed preceptor, and who, on this occasion, personated his father. Under this commission, the royal assent was given, and Thomas was then declared to be free from every engagement to the courts. Some days after, his consecration was performed at Canterbury, by the bishop of Winchester, (with the most unanimous concurrence,) at which the prelates of the province and the clergy assisted, with the young prince, and a splendid train of nobles^g. The court, which they paid to the favourite, would be acceptable, they knew, to their royal master. This was in June, 1162, when Becket had been five years chancellor, and was in his forty-fourth year.

He was born in London of reputable parents. His biographers relate that Gilbert, (this was his father's name,) agreeably to the devotion of the age, made a pilgrimage into Palestine; where he was captured by the Saracens, and thrown into prison. Being young and in his manners gentle, he was treated with unusual lenity. The daughter of the chief ruler had thus an opportunity privately to converse with him. He spoke to her of the christian religion, and while she listened, she learned to love. Would he marry

^f Hoved. p. 292. ^g Vita c. 8. ^h Gerv. Chron. Rad. Imag. Hist. an. 1162.

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her, she one day told him, she would easily contrive to effectuate his escape, and would be the companion of his flight. Gilbert would not risk an attempt, he thought too hazardous. It so happened, however, that, after a year and a half, he did escape with other captives, and left his generous pupil behind. She followed him; wandered through many countries, and at last came to England. That he now married her will be easily understood; and of this marriage Thomas was the fruitⁱ. — So relates the fabling Bromton.

His stature was above the common size, and his figure handsome. His understanding was quick and penetrating, his utterance and elocution clear and harmonious, and his manners wonderfully endearing. With facility he solved difficulties, which seemed above his reach; and such was the tenacity of his memory, that he retained whatever he had learned, and could repeat it without the smallest error. The impressions of virtue on his mind were early; his heart was benevolent; and he could feel for the distresses of others, and relieve them. The love of popular applause was long his ruling passion, and it was immoderate^k. — He began his studies at Oxford, which, at that time, after various fates, was regaining celebrity; and continued them at Paris. Being returned home, his own acquirements, and the interest of friends, recommended him to the notice of the primate, Theobald. With him he lived in confidential intimacy: he employed him in the arduous concerns of office; and more than once he was deputed by him to the court of Rome. Bologna was then in high repute, and its canonists

ⁱ Chiron. Joan. Bromt. an. 1163.^k Gervas. Actus Pont. Com.

canonists and civilians were deemed the first in Europe. Among these was Gratian, and others of not inferior fame, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. It was by their lectures, and the publication of their opinions, that the system of ecclesiastical domination, which, for some time, had prevailed at Rome, now gained stability, and spread through the christian churches. Theobald was desirous that young Becket should pass some months in that celebrated academy. He was there, and it will shortly appear what were the maxims he imbibed. Soon he was promoted to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and acquired other lucrative preferments in the church¹. I have said that, the same patronage of Theobald recommended him to Henry; that he was made Chancellor, and employed in important negotiations; and we have just seen, that nothing could satisfy the unbounded opinion which his master entertained of him, but that in his person, to the first civil department should be annexed the highest dignity in the church. He was chancellor of the realm, and primate of all England.

The awful ceremony of consecration had no sooner bound him to the church, say his biographers, than he at once quitted the world, and with it the habits of his former life. He became retired, studious, meditative. But in nothing was he singular or affected. His dress was modest, such as prelates wore; and his charities to the indigent were unbounded. His table was sumptuous, and himself ate what was rare and delicate; but in the train of his attendants there was not, such as had been, a courtly magnificence. Men of learning were his companions: from their intercourse he

Change in his
life and man-
ners.

drew.

¹ Gervas. Pontif. Cant. Vita c. 2.

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drew instruction; and he rewarded their labours. The study of antiquity and the scriptures engaged his hours. The monks of Canterbury, instigated by his example, practised more diligently their monastic duties, while the clergy of his diocese saw in their primate all the virtues, which could adorn and elevate their profession^m. It was remarked that, even in the court of his prince, where virtue had few votaries, and pleasure invited, he had been uniformly free from vice, and even free from common weaknesses. Henry jeered his innocence, and sometimes aimed to insnare it. His failings were those of a youthful mind, courting popular applause, elated by the smiles of his king, and immeasurably ambitious to extend his glory.

Men, whom nature has not formed in common moulds, whose understandings are large, and whose hearts swell, can only be engaged by objects commensurate with their capacities. When Becket was the minister of a monarch, whose empire was extensive, and whose views were vast, the situation harmonised with his character, and he could be munificent, and ostentatious, and soldier-like as he. Nor can we wonder, if the looser manners of the age, and the occupations of the busy scene, should have more than reconciled him to employments, which seem not to have become the churchman. There were examples in the French court, and more in that of Frederic. Besides, Theobald had himself raised him to the station, who knew its offices and all its calls. But when the primacy of England was in his hands, with its splendid honours and its thousand duties, the charge alone was amply sufficient; and it could occupy and

^m Vita c. 9, 10, 11, 12. Gervas. &c.

and engross his thoughts. His manners and his views would naturally bend to it ; and that cast of character which had fortunately carried him to the objects of his ambition, would now operate to similar exertions in his new department. Now also, he might think, he was become the servant of a greater potentate, than was Henry Plantagenet, namely, of Alexander, the Roman pontiff. It was the prejudice of the age. And may it not be said, that religion and a sense of duty did likewise co-operate to the reformation of manners and the change of character, of which I am speaking? New features of mind, and a sternness of virtue might be then produced, of which before no symptoms had been exhibited. The mind of man is a system of effects. To say then, that the archbishop was insincere in his conversion, and affected new manners, from sinister and insidious views, is ungenerous and contrary to the declarations of the most contemporary writers; but not to be able to see that the transition was most natural, as agreeable to the ordinary phenomena of human nature, speaks a want of discernment, of which who is vacant, should not attempt to relate events in which *man* is a principal agent; and to be conscious of truth, and to misstate it, from the pre-judications of low bigotry, from dislike of characters, or from a paltry policy, is of prejudice the basest species, and degrades the historian.

The duties of the new charge were so manifold, that the archbishop soon discovered how incompatible they were with the extensive concerns of his first office. He resolved to resign the seals ; and he sent them to the king in Normandy, expressing, doubtless, by the messenger, what his motives

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motives were. Henry was much affected. The scheme of government he had projected was at once dissolved, and in losing his minister, he felt that his own sinews were relaxed. The step also was precipitate. The recollection of the many favours he had received, and of his master's unbounded confidence, should have checked, he might naturally think, the hasty resolution, till in person he had laid his difficulties before him. The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, he knew, were the emperor's prime ministers, the one in Germany, the other in Italy^a. His heart was heavy, and he came to England. Indeed, there was not much, at that moment, to detain him on the continent, and some fresh disturbances in Wales made his presence more necessary. Becket met him at Southampton. They embraced; but he turned his eyes from him, which visibly denoted the coolness of his heart^b. It was marked on another occasion. Thomas had retained the archdeaconry of Canterbury. This office the king urged him to resign; but as he knew it was his intention to confer it on Geoffrey de Riddel, an ecclesiastic whom he disliked, he, from day to day, put off the surrender. The king would not be satisfied, and the archbishop finally complied. The motive of this requisition was evident^c.

In the spring of the year, 1163, Alexander convened a synod at Tours. Seventeen cardinals, who attended the pontiff, were present, and a numerous prelacy from the kingdoms of France and England. The metropolitan of Canterbury was received with the most marked attention. Fifteen cardinals, with the bishops who had arrived, went out

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Council of
Tours.^a Imag. hist. 1162.^b Ibid.^c Ibid.

out to meet him. Alexander welcomed him with the sincerest professions of esteem, and when the council opened, he sat with his suffragans on the right hand. On the left was Roger, metropolitan of York, with his suffragan of Durham⁴. Arnold of Liseux, who has been mentioned, the friend to Alexander and to Henry, whose subject he was, in a studied and eloquent oration harangued the meeting. Who has read it, will not think contemptibly of the oratory of the twelfth century. He spoke of the unity of the church, which schismatics aimed to divide, and of her liberty which tyrants would destroy. "Frederic," says he, "among the princes of the earth, is famed for the virtues of prudence and fortitude. Would to God, he were humbled, and would confess that the power of the church is above his power! By gratitude he should be compelled to own, that Rome is his mistress. From her favour alone did his predecessors receive the right of empire."⁵—Alexander then himself related the circumstances of his election; inveighed against the intrusion of Octavian; and once more pronounced anathemas against him and his accomplices.—Ten canons were enacted, which principally regarded such abuses as had made their way into the discipline of the church.

The two kings now signified to the pope, that if it was his intention to continue in their territories, he was free to chuse his residence where it might please him best. He fixed on the city of Sens, in the province of Champagne, to which he retired with his court, and where he resided for two years.

⁴ Gerv. an. 1163. Vita c. 14.⁵ Ap. Baron. an. 1163.

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Dispute between Henry and his bishops.

Returned into England from the council of Tours, where the conversation of Alexander and the prelates, had animated his zeal against the oppressors of the church, and the detail of abuses, censured by the synod, had raised a higher veneration for its laws, its rights, and its immunities, the archbishop turned his thoughts to the state of his own diocese. Many abuses had there also crept in, particularly during the civil disturbances of the last reign; and the rights of the see, which were extensive, had been invaded. We have seen with what activity, Henry, on his accession to the throne, reclaimed such parts of the royal demesne as had been alienated, even by the grants of Stephen and Matilda. The rights of the crown, he justly pleaded, were sacred, and could not be severed from it. And were the possessions and rights of the church then held less sacred? No length of possession, we know, could prescribe against them, and no authority could take them away. On this head, all the ecclesiastical canons, the force of which every kingdom allowed, spoke uniformly the same language. To oppose the infraction of these laws, and to resume such rights as had been invaded or alienated, was not less a constitutional process, than what the monarch had just practised. Thomas, therefore, claimed from the king himself the castle of Rochester, and the honours of Hythe and Sandgate, which, he said, belonged peculiarly to the see of Canterbury. He summoned Roger de' Clare to do him homage for the castle of Tunbridge, and he sent a similar citation to William de Ross. Many more applications of the like nature were made. The answer in general

general was, that they held under the king, and owned no other lord. The nobility were thus alarmed, and the king was irritated, while men evil-minded laboured to aggravate the impression. Yet there is little doubt but the claims were just. A breach was thus made between Henry and the primate, which the events of every day, as they came charged to the royal ear, only served to widen. When a favourite begins to fall, nothing is more rapid than his descent.

By a law of William the conqueror, made with the concurrence of the nation, ecclesiastical courts had been established, wherein all causes of a spiritual nature were to be decided, according to the canons of the church, or, as they were called, the episcopal laws^u. The two jurisdictions, civil and ecclesiastical, were thus unwise separated; and as the decrees of the church, under the influence of Rome, should multiply, so would the code of the new judicature, and the number of *spiritual causes*, be extended. The import of those words was not defined. — Henry I. in his *charter of liberties*, declared the church to be *free*^v; a word of great latitude: and Stephen confirmed to it, by a solemn grant, “ all its liberties, privileges, and ancient customs, together with its lands and possessions.” “ All power and jurisdiction over the persons and property of ecclesiastics,” he commits to the bishops; and promises to observe, and commands to be observed, “ the good and ancient laws, and just customs, regarding murders, pleadings, and other matters^w.” — Henry, at his accef-

^u Gerv. Radulph. Imag. hist. an. 1163. Vita c. 13.

^v Hist. of Hen. II. vol. i. p. 43, 527. ^w Ibid. p. 532. ^x Ibid. p. 535.

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sion, made no alterations in these grants or statutes; though, in his *charter*, he only mentions the customs, and grants, and liberties, which his grandfather, Henry, had given and bestowed^{*}. — The immunities of the general church were, at this time, very numerous, and among these was the exemption of the persons of ecclesiastics, whatever crimes they had committed, from all civil controul. The laws, on which these immunities were supposed to rest, had, by far the greater part, no sanction from antiquity, (notwithstanding the bold assertions of ignorant canonists,) and from reason they could have none[†]. They were, however, admitted, and in our courts, as well as in those of other countries, universally obtained the force of irrefragable decrees[‡].

Henry, as became a wise and just governor, who knew that the strength of his empire depended on the virtue of the community and the observance of the laws, was intent on punishing the refractory, and exterminating the incorrigible violators of the public peace. The judges complained to him that, it was in vain they attempted to execute his commands, while thefts, rapines, and murders, were with impunity committed by a class of men, to whom their jurisdiction did not reach. A hundred homicides, they said, had been perpetrated by churchmen, since his accession to the throne. The king was stricken, and talked of ordinances, “in which,” says my author, “his zeal for public justice was conspicuous, but it exceeded the bounds of prudence.” The bishops, he adds, were blameable: for, as the ecclesiastical canons ordained that, not only the

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* Vol. iv. p. 169.

† Fleury disc. 4.

‡ Audit. passim.

more atrocious offenders, but even those guilty of less crimes, should be degraded; how had it happened that, when their numbers were so great, so few had suffered that spiritual punishment? It seems, that they rather screened such delinquents, and defied the arm of justice^a. — The representation, probably, is overcharged; but that it contained much truth, we know from certain documents.

Philip de Broc, a canon of Bedford, being accused of murder, and taken before a civil judge, publicly insulted the king's minister. The archbishop, informed of the fact, deprived him of his benefice, and sent him into banishment for two years. Other instances there were, at this time, of similar canonical censures, where the crimes were most flagitious^b. — Henry was not satisfied with punishments, which seemed so inadequate to the guilt. He therefore ordained, "that such ecclesiastics, as, in future, should be accused of heinous crimes, should be delivered into the hands of the bishop, by whom if found guilty, they were, in the presence of the king's officers, to be first degraded, and then given up to the secular tribunal to be punished^c." — The bishops opposed the innovation, for such it was, as an infringement of the canons and the privileges of the church: besides, they contended that no one should be punished twice for the same crime, and that ecclesiastical censures, which fell immediately on the soul, were of all punishments the most grievous. They did not deny but a churchman, when once degraded from his orders, was liable to be punished, in the secular court, for any

^a Neubrig. l. 2. c. 16.

^b Imag. hist. an. 1164. Vita c. 17.

^c Imag. ibid.

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any crime he might afterwards commit. The primate stood foremost in this opposition to the royal will.

Nothing to us can seem more equitable than this requisition of the king, abstractedly considered. But when we know what then were the immunities and rights of the church, which his predecessors of the Norman line, as we have seen, and he himself had solemnly confirmed, could any of them be legally annulled without the consent of the bishops? He applied for this consent: but surely they were free to withhold it; and his application was preceded by an arbitrary decree, which it was his design to enforce. To require that the canons of the church should be severely executed against delinquents, he had authority. He might ask for more; But that implied a power of refusing. Whether they were unwise in their refusal cannot be ascertained, only by our own ideas, which were not those of the times I am describing. The prerogative of the crown, it seems, must be deemed sacred; so must the civil liberties of the people: the ecclesiastical rights of the church alone cannot be supported, but by a spirit of pride and priestly domination!

Conduct of
the primate.

Irritated by an opposition, for which he should have been prepared, Henry summoned the bishops to meet him at Westminster. They came. He proposed to them his new reform in the laws, assigning for reason that the mild spirit of the canons was not adequate to check the perpetration of crimes. They repeated their opposition; when Becket conjured him not to attempt an innovation in his realm, to which he could not consent. The unanimous opposition provoked him much, and he asked them abruptly;

abruptly; “would they observe the royal customs?” adding that, “observed as they had been by their predecessors, “in the time of his grandfather, they ought not now to “be condemned.”—The prelates retired; when returning, the archbishop, as agreed amongst them, thus answered for himself and them. “I and my brethren will observe “your royal customs, *saving our order.*”—The king proposed the question to each bishop, and received from each the same answer. Only the bishop of Chichester dissented. With indignation he then addressed them: “I see,” said he, “that you are drawn up in array against me: there is “venom in the expression, *saving your order:* it is cap-“tious. You must promise to observe the customs with-“out any restraining clause.” Becket replied: “At our “consecration, we swore fealty to your majesty, namely, “of life, limb, and worldly honour, *saving our order.* In “the terms, *worldly honour,* were the royal customs in-“cluded. We can promise to observe them in no other “form.”—It was late in the evening, and the king had been much harassed, when, in great fury, he precipitately retired from the hall, without saluting the bishops^d.”

The reader will have observed, how, on a sudden, the first object in discussion being dropt, a new question was brought forward. The king had proposed to the prelates, that they should admit his new statute about the trial of ecclesiastics. They refuse; when instantly he turns to the *royal customs.* He could not mean to insinuate that there was any connection between them, (for he knew that the first proposal went to the abrogation of an old law, which

^d Vita c. 18, 19, Gerv. an. 1163.

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which his predecessors had confirmed,) and that the customs, which he now alledged, were, as he asserted, the ancient usages of the realm.—Elsewhere I shall have occasion more than once to remark, that the king, in this perplexed controversy, seems to have acted from no premeditated plan; but to have shifted his ground, as the wayward passion led, and to have brought forward matter of fresh discussion, to ease resentment, or for the unprincely purpose of retaliation.

The next morning he took from the primate the castles of Eye and Berkham, which had been given into his custody when chancellor; and, without acquainting the bishops, left London before day-break. — It was in the month of October.

The report of the quarrel between Henry and his prelates excited general attention, and as interest, or better motives preponderated, so men judged. Alexander would naturally applaud the firmness of the bishops; but as his obligations to the king were manifold, and he still wanted all his aid, his situation became peculiarly delicate.—The bishop of Lisieux, about this time, came to England. He found the nation divided into parties, the king violently agitated, and many of the episcopal order in great consternation. The primate only bore his head aloft, and braved the storm. The wily Norman, who well saw he must espouse some party, was perplexed. To incur the anger of his master he was not disposed; and he was aware how warm upon the recollection of the bishops must be the harangue, on the liberties of the church, which he had pronounced

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at Tours. Strenuously did he labour to restore peace; but in vain. He then advised the king, if possible, to divide the bishops, that so their power might be weakened. The advice was neither generous nor honourable; but it succeeded. Roger of York was persuaded to desert the confederacy, and he was soon followed by others, who now enforced the propriety of the king's demand, and vehemently solicited the primate to resist no longer. The king, they said, had all power in his hands, and was inflexibly determined; and would he, for the sake of a single expression, expose himself and the church to dangers, which his submission only could avert^{f?}.

Other means were also employed, promises, caresses, entreaties. Noblemen of the first distinction, in the monarch's name, waited on him. They pressed him by every argument, such as the bishops had used, and they added others. They mentioned his obligations to the king; the evils which had already followed their disunion; and they talked of the folly of hazarding all for a trifle. It seemed as if England and all the foreign provinces were at stake! — Messengers from Alexander and the cardinals came to him, empowered, as they said, to command his compliance. One of them, an abbot, took upon himself to declare that the king had sworn, that he meant not to touch the immunities of the church, but only to be honoured before his nobles. They added, that he would therefore be satisfied even with the shadow of a promise, provided the point of honour were secured to him^g.

^f Hoveden. p. 282. Cerv. an. 1163. Vita c. 20.

^g Ibid.

Such were the means used to bend the primate to the monarch's will. A prince, well-advised, would not thus have wantonly engaged in a personal altercation with his subject, knowing it was the means to sink his own dignity, and to exalt the primate. It poured into his mind a sense of consequence, which otherwise he might not have felt, and it added sinews to his firmness. By constitutional means only, in a general convocation of the estates, a wise king would have attempted this favourite reform, and failing there, he would have respected the rights, which a large body of his people had been taught to cherish:

The archbishop thus, on all sides, pressed by men, whose opinions it would have been pride to undervalue, and by the entreaties of those, whom he knew to be his friends, at last gave way. He had done enough to satisfy his own conscience, it seemed, and respect was due to others. He waited on the king, and told him he would *observe his royal customs*. Henry's countenance cleared up; but it did not assume that simple and dovelike gentleness, which, we are told, it could sometimes wear^b. "I am satisfied," said he; "this only I must further require, that the declaration you have made, be repeated in a public assembly of my bishops and the nobles of my realm." They partedⁱ.

Henry was at his favourite palace of Woodstock, where the charming Rosamond de Clifford strove to sooth his angry cares; and where the homage of Malcolm king of Scotland, and of the Welsh princes and chief lords, paid to himself and son^k, made some compensation for the untoward conduct of his English bishops.

^b Pet. Bles. ep. 66.

¹ Hoveden. &c. ut supra.

^k Diceto. ibid.

In this year, Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, a man versed in sacred literature and of approved merit, and whom the primate on that account, warmly recommended to the king, was translated to the see of London. The pope also, at Henry's desire, proposed him to the chapter, by which he was unanimously elected. He was the king's confessor, who wished to have him near his person. London was, at that time, called a royal city, it being the principal residence of our monarchs, and there the great national meetings were chiefly held. A man of Foliot's learning, for he is said likewise to have been skilled in the civil and canonical law, was judged most proper to rule that important see. The king seems to have urged his promotion with a partial earnestness; but what is extraordinary, as the series of events will show, even Becket himself is said to have taken a very active part in his favour.¹

Three months elapsed, before the bishops with their primate were again summoned to appear. It is not related, why the king was so dilatory in bringing a question to issue in which he seemed to be much interested; which was to fix a bar, modern writers tell us, against clerical encroachments; and when the haughty Becket, with his adherents, would be humbled at his feet. As the business was important, we may fairly presume, that leisure was required to digest its several parts. The wise heads of the nation must be consulted, that each royal and ancient custom be exactly defined, and be ready to be produced, with such evidence of authenticity, that cavil and opposition shall at once be silenced. In the confusion, which the troubles of the civil war had

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¹ De Diceto, Gervas. an. 1163.

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introduced, and more than that, in the collision of Saxon and Norman laws and usages, it must be no easy task to ascertain, with precision, even the limits of the civil power, much less to determine the exact boundaries of the two rival jurisdictions. The day at last was fixed, and a general council of the nation was summoned to Clarendon, a royal palace near Salisbury, for the 28th of January, 1164.

Meeting of
Clarendon.

They met, all the prelates, abbots, priors, earls, barons and great men of the land. John of Oxford, one of the king's chaplains, presided; and Henry took his seat.—Abruptly then, it seems, he called on the bishops to perform their promise, and with threats urged them to submit. The primate who, from the beginning, had suspected the king's intentions, was alarmed by this intemperate exordium, and expressed a design (*propositus*) of receding from the imprudent engagement, he had, in a manner, been compelled to make. At this, Henry's rage was extreme: in the eyes of the council it bore the appearance of phrensy. He menaced banishment and death. Those bishops who, as yet, had not deserted the primate, were stricken as by a thunder-bolt. They crowd round him, and with tears entreat that he will relent, as his person, the safety of the clergy, and their own lives were at stake. Robert earl of Leicester, and Reginald earl of Cornwall, men famed for wisdom, and powerful in the state, advance up to him: “ If you refuse to submit to the royal will,” said they, “ he commands us to use force; though the event, we know, will bring infamy on him and us.” Thomas was not moved. Two knights templars, Richard de Hastings, and Tostes of St. Omer, whom the king greatly loved, and whose general talents

talents were admired, are ordered to try their influence. In a supplicating attitude they approach, and fall on their knees. They sigh, and weep, and conjure, that he will have some solicitude for himself, and shew pity to his clergy. The strong remonstrance, thus pathetically expressed, had its effect. It seemed to intimate that the drawn dagger was even now pointed at his heart. Indeed, some of the king's guards were seen running through the chambers with naked swords, their garments tucked up, and ready for execution.—Struggling with his own resolution, yet affected for the sake of others, the primate now signified, that he would obey the king's will; and then promised that, “on “the word of truth, he would observe the ancient cus-“toms of the realm.” The bishops made the same solemn promise. Forthwith it was proposed, that the customs be recited, and be reduced into order. But now it appeared, “that as yet it was not known, which they were.” The urgency of the demand only had excited suspicion. Such of the assembly, therefore, as, from age and experience, might be thought to know them best, were ordered, from memory, to collect them. They had formed a list, and were proceeding to others, when the archbishop observed: “I am “not among the elders of the realm, so as to know what “these customs are, nor have I been long in my present “office. The matter is weighty, and the day is fast declin-“ing; let the further prosecution of the business be made “over to the morning.” The motion was accepted, and the council rose^m.

^m Gerv. an. 1164. Vita c. 21. Neubrig. Hoveden,

Such, as contemporary historians have recorded, whom I have faithfully copied, were the first day's transactions at Clarendon. On their violence and general tendency, the reader will make his own reflections. I only wish to suggest that, as to Becket; when he proposed to recoil from his imprudent engagement, at the imperious mandate of the king, it was what every honest man should have done. He saw there was no honour in his views. Again, indeed, he gave way, and I will call it a weakness; but what, in like circumstances, would have been the conduct of the most resolved patriot? Promises so extorted are not binding, if, on a cool revision, they displease. I do not say, it was fear absolutely which prevailed on the archbishop; but it was a mode of entreaty, as irresistible as it.—As to the members of the meeting, the primate alone excepted, there was not a spark of liberty in their breasts.—As to Henry; he came to Clarendon like a tyrant from the east. It was not to strengthen the arm of justice, to invigorate the laws, to protect the rights of the crown, that he would enforce his royal customs, or he would have come prepared to exhibit them; but to gratify revenge, and to triumph in the humiliation of a man, who had dared to oppose him. It appeared also in his intemperate rage. Henry, I own, in many regards, was a great prince, great in peace and war, and I shall have occasion to shew it; but his greatness never once appears in this controversy with Becket.—As to the bishops; by fear, by interest, or by adulation, they were all unmanned, and shamefully deserted their colours. Before they came to Clarendon, this had happened. Old Henry of Winchester, I believe, stood firm, and perhaps another,

another. This is truth, or all history is a fable. Yet, surely, the turn which the question took at Clarendon, should have opened their eyes, or it should have made them, if they valued their characters, as wary, and as reluctant, as their primate.

The congress assembled the next morning, and the ancients resumed their inquiry. As the king, from his youth, could know nothing of the customs, he implicitly relied on them; and it is thought, they, in many instances, rather, aimed to widen the breach, than to conciliate by the production of uncontrovertible facts. The committee withdrew to a separate apartment, and, after some time, returned with the following list of customsⁿ. They are now styled the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, though the authors nearest to the times, are unanimous in branding them with the most opprobrious epithets.

1. " All suits, concerning the advowson and presentation
" of churches, to be tried and determined in the king's
" court."

2. " Churches, belonging to the king's fee, not to be
" granted in perpetuity, without his consent."

3. " Clerks arraigned and accused of any matter, being
" summoned by the king's justiciary, shall come into his
" court, to answer there, concerning that which it shall
" appear to the king's court is cognizable there; and shall
" answer in the ecclesiastical court, concerning that which
" it shall appear is cognizable there: so that the king's
" justiciary shall send to the court of holy church, to see in
" what manner the cause shall be tried there. And if a
" clerk

Its constitutions.

ⁿ Ut supra.

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1164.

" clerk shall be convicted, or confess his crime, the church
 " must not any longer protect him."

4. " No archbishops, bishops, or dignified clergymen of
 " the realm, to go out of the kingdom, without the king's
 " licence."

5. " Persons excommunicated not to make any deposit
 " for appearance, or to take any oath, but only to find se-
 " curity to stand to the judgment of the church, in order
 " to absolution."

6. " Laics not to be accused in spiritual courts, except
 " by reputable and legal promoters and witnesses."

7. " No tenant in chief of the king, nor any officer of
 " his household, to be excommunicated, nor the lands of
 " any of them to be put under an interdict, unless the
 " king or his justiciary shall have been first apprised."

8. " All appeals to proceed from the archdeacon to the
 " bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop. If the
 " latter fail in doing justice, the cause to go to the king,
 " that by his precept it may be determined in the arch-
 " bishop's court, so that it may proceed no further without
 " the king's consent."

9. " Should any dispute arise between a layman and a
 " clergyman, concerning a tenement, and it be litigated
 " whether it be a lay or an ecclesiastical fee, it shall first
 " be decided by the verdict of twelve lawful men, before
 " the king's chief justice, to what class it belongs; and if
 " it be found to be a lay fee, the suit shall be pleaded in
 " the civil court, otherwise in the ecclesiastical."

10. " If any one in the demesne of the king be cited by
 " the archdeacon or bishop on account of an offence, for
 " which

" which he shou'd answer to them, and refuse to appear,
 " he may be put under an interdict: but he must not be
 " excommunicated, before the king's officer of the place
 " be applied to, that he may compel him judicially to
 " make satisfaction. If the officer fail therein, the bishop
 " may punish the accused by ecclesiastical censures."

11. " Archbishops, bishops, and such clergy, as are
 " tenants in chief of the king, hold their possessions from
 " him, as barons of the realm, and are subject to the same
 " duties: they must attend with the barons in the king's
 " courts, and assist at trials, till judgment proceed to the
 " loss of members or death."

12. " When an archbishopric, or bishopric, or abbey,
 " or priory, of the king's demesne, falls vacant, it shall
 " be in the hands of the king, to receive all the rents and
 " issues thereof. And when the place is to be supplied, he
 " shall send for the principal clergy, and the election shall
 " be made in the king's chapel, with his assent, and the
 " advice of those whom he called for, that purpose. And
 " the person elected shall there do homage and fealty to
 " him, as his liege lord, of life, limb, and worldly ho-
 " nour, (saving his order,) before he be consecrated."

13. " If any nobleman of the realm shall refuse to sub-
 " mit to the spiritual courts, the king shall oblige him to
 " submission: and if any refuse obedience to the king, the
 " church shall use her power to reduce them."

14. " Chattels forfeited to the king, may not be pro-
 " tected in churches or church-yards, because they are the
 " king's wherever they be found."

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15. " Pleas of debt, whether owing by faith solemnly
 pledged, or otherwise, pertain to the king's judicature."
16. " The sons of villeins (husbandmen) not to be ordained clerks, without the consent of the lord, on whose land they were born."

The preamble states that, in the presence of the king, was made this *remembrance* or *recognition* of some part of the customs, and liberties, and honours of his predecessors, that is, of Henry his grandfather, and of others, which shall be observed and held in the realm. And, on account of the dissentions and discords, which had happened between the clergy and the king's officers, and the barons of the land, about its customs and honours, this recognition, it adds, was made before the archbishops, and bishops, and clergy, and earls, and barons, and nobles. The customs being thus solemnly acknowledged, the prelates, it says, on the word of truth, promised to observe them. Then come their names: the two archbishops, Gilbert of London, Henry of Winchester, Nigel of Ely, William of Norwich, Robert of Lincoln, Hilary of Chichester, Jocelin of Salisbury, Richard of Chester, (Lichfield,) Bartholomew of Exeter, Robert of Hereford, David of St. David's, and Roger elect of Worcester. Then follow the names of thirty seven nobles, English and Norman, with a general mention of the rest,

The statute closes thus: " But there are many more and great customs and honours of our holy mother the church, and of our lord the king, and of the barons of the realm, which are not contained in this writing. They shall remain untouched to the church, and to the king and

" and his heirs, and to the barons, and shall be observed
 " for ever inviolably."^a

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The ordinances (such as I have stated) being produced to the assembly, and read; the king, addressing himself to the prelates, requested, for greater security and to give them stability, that they affix their seals to the deed. The bishops assented; but the primate expressed his astonishment, and shewed a reluctance to comply. He had not expected, having gone so far to satisfy the king, that a fresh demand would be made. "The matter," he again observed, "was delicate, and he wished for time to deliberate." On this, a copy of the ordinances was delivered into his hand; the archbishop of York received another; and a third was retained, to be deposited among the archives of the realm.^b The council of Clarendon was then dissolved.

Becket, with a heavy heart, retired with the few bishops who had remained steady to him, and his attendant clergy, and took the road to Winchester. It was a moment for serious thought. With pleasure he felt himself released, from the tumult and oppressive scenes he had been obliged to witness; still he had a weighty charge, it seemed, to bring against himself. Contrary to the conviction of his mind, he had given way to entreaties, and involved himself, in difficulties, from which there was no return. Knowing, as he did, what were the king's intentions, or rather, perhaps, what were the intentions of his enemies, how imprudent was it to promise compliance, and that, before any specification was made of the *customs*, to which it was demanded he should assent? Primate as he was of a great

Becket re-
pents of his
weakness.

^a Vita p. 163. ep. 12. Gerv. Hist. of Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 182.

^b Hoveden. Gerv. Vita c. 22.

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church; no supplication of friends, or menaces of those in power, should have extorted the incautious promise. The customs, it was now clear, as read in the ears of the assembly, announced their own condemnation. They were, many of them, contrary to the known charters of the land, given by the Norman kings to the church, and contrary to the received maxims of the general canons. To them he had not fixed his seal; but that was a weak consolation: he had solemnly pledged his word to observe the customs, and his name, inserted in the statute, would go down to the latest ages. His reverie was interrupted by the conversation of those who journeyed with him, most of whom severely censured his weak condescension. And may we not be allowed to think, that his sorrow was unfeigned, for having sacrificed, what *he* could not but esteem, the ancient liberties of his clergy? He was sorry; he attested it in a public manner; and he purposed to dispatch a messenger to Alexander^q.

The king applies to Alexander.

But Henry, before the meeting of Clarendon, it seems, had employed the bishop of Lisieux and the archdeacon of Poitiers, to solicit from his holiness the legation of England for the archbishop of York, and a mandate to Becket and the bishops, requiring their submission to the customs of the realm. Alexander, though he had reason to apprehend, from the lowering aspect, that the storm would soon reach himself, at that time, evaded the petition. It was now more earnestly repeated. Geoffrey Ridel and John of Oxford, the king's chaplains, went over to Sens, and having requested the legatine powers for Roger of York, they entreated that his holiness would confirm the customs, which

had

^q Vita ut supra.

had been recorded at Clarendon, to Henry and his successors, by the authority of the apostolic see. This part of the petition he peremptorily refused ; and though he granted the other, from prudential motives, it was with such restrictions, as to render it of no avail. He might have the legation, he said, but not to be exercised against the person of Becket, or in the diocese of Canterbury¹. The king, with indignation, returned the illusory brief. This was in the beginning of March.

While Henry thus strenuously laboured to strengthen his late measures, by the sanction of the court of Sens, and to procure for the rival of Canterbury the powers, which properly belonged to that see, he had not forgotten, that the primate had not set his seal to the constitutions of Clarendon ; and it was reported that, not only he would never do it, but that he was resolved to oppose their execution. The incompliant temper of Alexander, which by presents he had striven to smooth, did not a little add to his ill humour. He resolved to harass the archbishop ; and if he could not conquer, he would torment, him².—Becket had received letters from the pope, which were meant to quiet the scruples his ductility at Clarendon had excited ; and while they praised his solicitude for the rights of the church, they exhorted him to give way, as much as might be, and not, by an imprudent resistance, to aggravate the evils which threatened³.

Such was the state of things, during the spring and a part of summer. The king's officers, with an insulting severity, executed the new statutes, and the king himself was unsatisfied

¹ l. i. ep. 4, 5, 6, 7.

² Vita c. 23. Gerv. ut sup.

³ ep. 4, 26.

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unsatisfied and morose. To recover the favour of Henry, which Alexander had urged him to attempt, seemed impossible, and daily to witness scenes, which gave him pain, could but add to his misery. Perhaps, were his person out of sight, measures less intemperate might be pursued. Becket reasoned thus, and resolved to withdraw from the kingdom^u. The step was contrary to the fourth statute of Clarendon.

Becket attempts to leave the kingdom.

He communicated his design to two confidential servants, and repairing to a neighbouring convent, he secretly escaped to Romney, where a boat waited, and sailed for France. But the captain, fearful of the king's displeasure, should he convey the archbishop out of the realm, pretended the wind was contrary, and after some hours relanded him on the coast. On the evening of the same day, he returned towards Canterbury.—The news of his departure much alarmed his friends, and they dispersed. But one of them, bolder than the rest, came to the palace. He was anxious about his master's fate, and after supper retired, thoughtful, to the primate's apartment. The first part of the night passed, and he had not closed his eyes: "Go," said he to his servant, "shut the outer gate, that we may not be disturbed." The boy went with a light, and looking round him, discovered the archbishop sitting near the door alone. His master and some of the monks came to him. Becket related his adventure, and going in, took some refreshment, and retired to rest.—In the morning, the king's officers were announced, who, on the report of the primate's flight, had been sent with a commission to seize his

^u Gerv. ibid. Vita c. 23.

his temporalities. The primate, at that moment, passed by them, going to morning service. His presence put a stop to their proceedings; and the king, we are told, heared of his return with pleasure, from an apprehension, that his flight abroad would be ascribed to persecution at home, and that the censures of the church might fall on his kingdom^v.

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They met, some time after, at Woodstock, and their meeting was not unfriendly. But Henry feared he might, on a fresh provocation, again attempt to leave the country, and be more successful. With the advice of his courtiers, therefore, and from motives not greatly honourable, he determined once more to cite him before a council of the nation, there to accuse him of misdemeanors, and to urge charges, from which, he trusted, neither his address nor firmness should be competent to free him. Utter humiliation, perhaps the resignation of his fee, would, he flattered himself, be the consequence. With this view, he convoked an assembly of the states at Northampton, for the eleventh of October^w.

Events, not uninteresting, on the continent must, for a moment, relieve this series of domestic occurrences. — Victor, in the month of April, died at Lucca. He was preparing, it is said, to return to Rome, and hoped that he should enter it triumphant. His prospects vanished, and the priests of Lucca refused to bury him within their walls. The chair of St. Peter had not been to Victor, at least, a seat of riches, for he died indigent, leaving all he could call his own, an oratory and a pair of horses, to his protector

Death of Victor,
and the
affairs of
Lombardy.

^v Gerv. Vita ibid.

^w Gervas. ibid.

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protector Frederic.—There remained but two cardinals of the faction, Guido of Crema and John of St. Martin. These assembled what prelates and clergy they could collect, who gave their votes to Guido. He took the name of Pascal III. The emperor confirmed the election, and solemnly swore on the gospels, that he would never receive any other pope than Pascal and his successors*.

The conqueror of Milan was still in Lombardy. Deprived of their ancient rights, and insultingly oppressed, as I have said, by the exactions of their enemies, the brave Lombards, even while Frederic was among them, dared to think of liberty. The cities of Verona, Padua, Vicenza, and some others formed a secret league, and the republic of Venice, whose privileges the imperial officers had not respected, joined the confederacy. Thus emboldened, they began to speak more freely, and to resist. The emperor heared of their designs, and with the few German forces he had with him, and the auxiliaries of Pavia and Cremona, directed his march towards Verona. Its neighbouring castles fell an easy prey. But as he advanced, devoting the rebellious cities to destruction, the allies poured from all quarters into the plain, and pitched their tents before him. To retire was disgraceful, and to engage an enemy, thus resolute and superior in numbers, was not to be hazarded. He chose the former, taking this lesson with him, that men who have been free, will not long submit to oppression: they may be awed for a time, but they are not conquered. He was likewise made sensible that his Italian allies, whom hatred to Milan no longer actuated, could not be relied on.

They

* Chron. Lauden. Acta Alex. an 1164.

They shewed no ardour in his cause. He retired therefore to Pavia, in fullen indignation, leaving behind him in all the towns and castles, German governors and German garrisons. On the nobility, indeed, he could place some reliance, because themselves stood in need of his protection, against the democratic attempts of their countrymen. The Lombards, who had now seen the back of Frederic, from the success of the Verronese confederacy, began to meditate greater attempts : he therefore withdrew into Germany, purposing, in due time, to revenge the galling insult^y.

Agreeably to the royal summons, on the eleventh of October, the assembly of the nation met at Northampton. It was as crowded as that of Clarendon, and the nobles and prelates being seated, Henry addressed the primate. “ I charge you,” said he, “ with not having done justice, “ in your court of Canterbury, to John, the mareschal of “ my exchequer, when he there sued you for an estate that “ had belonged to his ancestors ; and with not appearing “ in my court, when you were cited, on the appeal of my “ servant, to answer before me.” — The mareschal, it seems, on not finding the justice he expected, appealed, as the law directed, from the ecclesiastical court, and complained to the king. — “ Your mareschal,” replied the primate, “ was denied no justice in my court, as those who “ tried his claim can witness ; but he appealed, and his “ appeal was informal ; for instead of swearing on the gospels, to authorise his appeal, as the law of the realm “ requires, either advised to it, or by his own impulse, he “ produced a psalter or a song-book, and on that he swore.

Meeting at
Northampton

^y Murat. an. 1164.

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" — That I did not come to your majesty's court, when cited to appear there, was not out of contempt; but a severe illness, against my will, detained me. Two of my knights, however, waited on the court with my apology."

Such was Becket's defence, as historians state it; but from the sentence, which the court pronounced, circumstances must have been omitted, which to their judgment gave it less validity, unless we may suppose, that the behaviour of Henry suspended the course of justice. Regardless of every plea, with an intemperate fury, he swore that judgment should be passed, and justice done him^a. The primate's defence, at least, was deemed insufficient, and the court condemned him as guilty of contumacy, for having disobeyed his liege lord, to whom he had sworn fealty and the observance of his earthly honour, and they decreed all his goods and chattels to be at the mercy of the king. The bishops unanimously concurred in the sentence with the temporal barons. Becket submitted to the verdict; and as a fine of five hundred pounds (equal to more than seven thousand pounds of our money) would be accepted by Henry, he promised to pay the sum, and found sureties^b. — Thus ended the first day.

On the morrow, the king demanded from the archbishop the sum of three hundred pounds, which, while they were in his possession, he had levied upon the castles of Eye and Berkhamstead. — "More than that sum," answered he, "I expended on those castles, and on the royal castle at London, as the repairs themselves do show. But money shall

^a Hoveden. Gerv. an. 1164.

^b Hoveden. ib.

^c Hoveden. Gerv.

" shall be no ground of quarrel between me and my sovereign : I will pay the sum ; " and immediately he gave sureties for it .—" While you were chancellor," continued Henry, " during the war of Toulouse, I lent you five hundred pounds, which I now demand from you ."—" The five hundred pounds were given, not lent," replied the primate. However, as it rested on his single assertion, the court compelled him to refund the money, and to find sureties, which he did^d. This was the business of the second day.

The third day produced a heavier charge. During his administration, as chancellor, the rents of many vacant abbeys and bishoprics, with other revenues belonging to the crown, had been in his hands. " Of these," said the king, " I now demand an account. The balance due from those revenues shall be paid ."—" When I was appointed to the see of Canterbury," replied the primate, " before my consecration, by the prince, your royal son, and my lord of Leicester, your justiciary, I was pronounced free and discharged from every bond of the court, and as such the church received me. To this charge then I am not bound to plead. Besides, it comes upon me unexpectedly, and I am not prepared to answer it. I ask for leisure to consult with those who can advise me. After that I will answer ." The request was complied with, and he withdrew with the bishops into a separate chamber.

Vita c. 26.

* Vita ib. Gerv. ut supra. Rad. Dicet. an. 1164.

* Rad. Dicet. Gerv. ibid.

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With surprise the reader will have observed, that no mention has here been made of the *customs of Clarendon*. The matter is all new, and unconnected with them. But already I have remarked, that the caprice of passion, and no consistency, directed the series of this ungenerous prosecution. The prelate is not accused of any violation of his promise made at Clarendon, or of having opposed the execution of its statutes. As the temper of the king and his council was, we are therefore authorised to conclude that he had been guilty of neither. Such a charge, could it have been produced, would have come home with more efficacy, than such as we have witnessed.—As to the charges themselves, the first excepted, which carried some air of justice with it, they were vexatious, and unworthy of a king to urge. Whilst the tide of royal favour flowed, wealth and honours, with an unsparing hand, were heaped on the favourite; and the wealth, as we have seen, he expended, and the honours he employed, to promote his master's interest and glory. Thus, in truth, was an adequate return made, and there was no room to ask for more. When the king advanced his chancellor to the see of Canterbury, he was satisfied with what he had done in his former high office, in which he meant still to retain him, nor was it his intention, to demand an account of the sums he had spent; for two years passed, and no demand was made. But they quarrelled, and this great king recurs to the claims, I have related, and he makes them, unblushingly, as I have told it, in the eye of the nation! The prelate alone, thus assailed by a vindictive monarch, insulted by his peers, and deserted by his brethren, yet boldly standing on his defence,

and

and submitting to each sentence as pronounced against him, calls for our veneration. In better days, or rather, in another cause, to such heroic firmness the tongues of an admiring people had echoed praise, and to us it had been perpetuated on the rolling stream of time.

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Being retired to an inner room, the doors of which by the king's order were locked, Becket, after a short pause, requested the opinions of his suffragans.—The bishop of London spoke first. “Father,” said he, “did you recollect from what the king, our master, raised you, the favours he bestowed upon you, and the danger which threatens the church and us, should you resist his will, not only would you resign the see of Canterbury, but ten times more, were it necessary. Perhaps, seeing this your humility, he might be moved to reinstate you in all your possessions.”—“I perceive,” observed Becket, “that your advice is not unpremeditated.”

Henry of Winchester spoke.—“The opinion, which has been given, is of a pernicious tendency to the church, and involves us all; for, should our primate set us this example, that, at the will or menace of the prince, a bishop must relinquish his charge, what in future shall be expected, but a violation of our rights, and, as he may direct, the subversion of all order? The confusion of the priesthood will reach the people.”

“Unless the urgency of the times and the perturbation of the church called for other measures, I should vote with my lord of Winchester,” replied Hilary of Chichester, a man vain in words. “But when of the canons the authority itself staggers, from the severity of discipline

“much

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" much must be relaxed, that moderation may effect, what
 " rigid discipline would overthrow. It is my opinion
 " therefore, that we give way to the royal will, but only
 " for a time. Inconsiderately we may adopt resolutions,
 " from which to recede it may hereafter be more morti-
 " fying, and more galling to our pride."

" I see very plainly," observed Robert of Lincoln, " that
 " they seek the life and blood of this man. One of the
 " two is therefore necessary, either to quit his archbishopric
 " or his life. Now of what use his archbishopric will be to
 " him after he has lost his life, for my part, I profess, I
 " cannot see."—This Robert, says the historian, was but
 a simple and injudicious man.

Bartholomew of Exeter, then delivered his opinion.—
 " That the times are evil, will, I think, be denied by no
 " one. And if by any subterfuge, we can escape the pre-
 " sent storm, unhurt, that surely should be aimed at: but
 " even in this, little success can be expected, unless we
 " give way considerably. The pressure of the moment
 " requires it, particularly as this prosecution is personal,
 " and does not involve us all. It is better then that the
 " head of one man be exposed to danger, than that the
 " English church suffer inevitably."

Roger, lately consecrated to the see of Worcester, spoke
 thus ambiguously.—" I wish," said he, " to give no opinion;
 " because should I say that the cure of souls ought to be
 " resigned, when the prince so wills it or threatens, I
 " should speak against my own conscience, and my mouth
 " would belie my heart. If I say, that the king should be
 " opposed; here are those present who are devoted to him,
 " who

" who will make their report. I shall be ranked, in future,
 " with his enemies, and be condemned. Therefore I waive
 " all decision, and give no advice f."

A pause ensued, and as they could not quit the room, the archbishop signified, that he wished to speak with the earls of Leicester and Cornwall. They came in haste, and opening the doors, entered to the bishops. " My lords," said the prelate, " we have debated on the charge which
 " the king has brought against me; but as the persons, to
 " whom my cause is best known, are not with me, I ask for
 " a respite till the morrow, when I will answer, as God
 " shall direct me." The king assented to his request, and the council rose.

By the turn, which the debate took, in the private deliberation of the prelates, they seem to have understood that the king's intention, when he brought the last charge against the archbishop, was to force him to a resignation of his fee. Indeed, so intricate and extensive must have been the accounts he demanded, and so uncertain the claim, that the reimbursement of any sum might have been required. The revenues of the fee of Canterbury were not equal to the discharge, and no sureties could have been found. The king talked of forty-four thousand marks, which, from the comparative value of money, was an enormous sum: nothing then, it was thought, remained, but that the primate should resign his fee, and throw himself on the royal mercy. He himself saw the intricacy of his situation, and viewing the iniquity of the prosecution, he seems, from this moment, to have determined to avail himself

^f Vita c. 27. Gerv. ut sup.

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himself of the sacredness of his character for protection; (as justly he might,) and to involve his cause with that of God and religion. The notions of the age conspired with his views, and his enemies, though they drew ruin on his head, had themselves reason to repent their wanton and malevolent attack.

The next day was Sunday. Perceiving that the multitude of knights and others, who till now had attended on his person, came not near him, apprehensive of the fate which threatened, the primate ordered the poor of the neighbourhood to be collected, and to be seated at his table. "By these," said he, "I shall obtain an easier victory, than by those who have shamefully deserted me in the hour of danger." The favour of the people was thus excited, and religion seemed to sanctify his cause. — He had been long subject to a pain in his bowels, and now care and vexation conspiring, it attacked him with violence, and he retired to rest. The morning came, and he was unable to rise^s.

On Monday, the council assembled, and having some time waited for the archbishop, the two earls, above-mentioned, were ordered to go to his lodgings, and cite him to appear. It was reported that he counterfeited sickness. "You are sensible," said he to the earls, "what it is that detains me. Give me but a respite till to-morrow's sun, and I will come to your court, though I be conveyed in a litter." It was granted. In the course of the day, however, intimation was secretly given to him by those, who approached the king, that, if he appeared in court, his destruction or imprisonment was resolved on^b.

^sVita c. 28. Gerv.^bGerv. Hoveden.

Early in the morning he was visited by many of the bishops, who endeavoured to persuade him, that, for the peace of the church, and his own safety, he would submit himself, without reserve, to the king's pleasure. He rejected their advice, with a severe reprimand on their own conduct. "It is," he added, "a detestable proceeding, "that you have not only forsaken me in this dispute, but "now, for two days, have sat in judgment, with the barons, "on me your father, you who should have stood by me. "I forbid you to attend any further proceedings against "me. And if, as it is rumoured, violence should be "offered to me, I command you, in holy obedience, by "the censures of the church to avenge the injury¹." The bishops retired; and the primate going to the church, at an altar dedicated to St. Stephen, celebrated the mass which begins with the words, *princes sat and spake against me*; alluding, doubtless, to his own situation, and thus invoking the aid of the first martyr to the christian cause.

Descending from the altar, clothed in part, as he was, in his sacred vestments, he proceeded to the court, where the king with his barons waited his arrival; and at the door, he took into his own hand the cross, which his chaplain carried. The action surprised the bishops, who had come out to meet him, and they endeavoured to prevent it, knowing how much it would irritate the king. "Let me be your cross-bearer," said the bishop of Hereford, "for so it becomes me."—"No," replied the prelate, "this cross is my safeguard: it shall tell them, under what prince I combat."—"If the king sees you enter with these arms,"

¹ Vita ib. Gerv.

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observed Gilbert of London, striving to wrest the cross from him, “ he will unsheathe his own: it will then appear, “ which are most to be relied on.” — “ That I leave to “ God; ” replied Becket. — “ Hitherto your folly has “ been great,” rejoined the bishop, “ and, I perceive, “ you are not disposed to quit it.”

The king understanding, in what form the archbishop was entering the hall, rose hastily from his seat, and with the barons retired to an inner chamber. The prelate, with a few attendants, then took his seat, and on the opposite side sat the bishops. With the king all was confusion. He proposed first to attack the primate, on the old question of the immunities of the clergy. From this he was dissuaded, the courtiers telling him, that it would surely again unite the bishops to their primate, and they should have another army arrayed against them. The bishops were called in. To them, in the strongest terms, he complained of the intended insult; that to come thus armed into his court, was to brand himself, he said, and the whole assembly, with the odious charge of some treacherous design. But as his rage grew immoderate, stimulated by the courtiers speeches, even the primate’s enemies were shocked. They expected he would be instantly massacred. Roger of York quitted the room, saying to his chaplains: “ Let us be “ gone. It becomes not us to witness what will soon befall “ the primate of Canterbury.” Bartholomew of Exeter ran to him: “ My father,” said he, “ have pity on yourself and us. On your account we shall all this day perish. “ The king has ordered, that whoever dares to stand by “ you,

* Hoveden. Gerv. Vita ut sup.

" you, shall be punished as an enemy to the state. Jocelin
 " of Salisbury and William of Norwich, who have spoken
 " in your favour, are just now, it is said, dragged out
 " to punishment." — " Fly thence; for thou knowest not
 " what appertains to God;" said the primate, looking
 at him, firm and dauntless, and not moving from his
 seat!.

The bishops, in the mean time, who remained in the inner room with the king, seeing the danger which threatened, and uncertain what to do, after much altercation among themselves, proposed a last measure, which, they hoped, would be successful. " We will cite our pri-
 " mate," said they to the king, " before the pope: there
 " we can bring our charges; and we doubt, not shall pro-
 " cure his deposition." — The proposal pleased Henry; and the bishops in a body hastening to the primate, the arrogant and frothy Hilary of Chichester thus, in the name of all, addressed him^m.

" Until now," said he, " you have been our archbishop,
 " and it was our duty to obey you. But as you swore
 " fealty to our lord the king, that is, to defend his life,
 " his limbs, and worldly honour, and to observe the cus-
 " toms of the realm, which he required, and now you
 " strive to overthrow those customs, which principally
 " regard that worldly honour; therefore we pronounce
 " you guilty of perjury, and to a perjured primate we owe
 " no further obedience. Ourselves and our possessions we
 " commit to the protection of our lord the pope, and we
 " cite you to his presence, there to answer to our charges."

^l Hoveden. Gerv. Vita ut supra.

^m Ibid.

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Thus saying, he named a day.—“I hear you,” said the archbishop^a.

It is extraordinary, that the question of the *customs* should be here revived by the bishops, and on it only should their charge be grounded; when it had not once been publicly mentioned at Northampton, nor any accusation of perjury been preferred against the primate. But the truth is; perjury was deemed a canonical crime, and could it be proved, a sentence of deposition, they thought, might be obtained from his holiness; whereas the royal charges were all of them, as produced at Northampton, of a civil nature. To gratify the king’s passion, it mattered not, how informal the prosecution was, or on what charges it was founded; and the bishops, it seems, from ignorance, or fear, or malice, or interest, were disposed to go any lengths.

After Hilary had spoken, the bishops went over to the opposite seats, and a pause of silence ensued. The door of the inner room then opened, and the barons, with a great crowd, headed by the earls of Leicester and Cornwall, entering, walked up to the primate. The earl of Leicester said: “The king orders, that you appear before him to answer to his charges, as you promised: otherwise, hear your sentence.” “My sentence!” cried the primate, rising from his seat: “Yes, son earl, but do you hear first.—You well know, my son, with what friendship and with what fidelity, I served my lord the king. On that account, it was his pleasure, that I should be promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, God knows, against my own will. For I knew

“ my

^a Getv. Vita.

" my own incapacity; and I acquiesced, not so much for
 " the love of God, as for his love. This is sufficiently
 " evident, since God to-day withdraws himself and the
 " king from me. At my election, in the presence of
 " prince Henry, who had received orders from his royal
 " father, it was asked, in what condition I was given to
 " the church? when answer was made; *free and discharged*
 " *from every bond of the court.* But if free; I cannot now
 " be bound to answer to those things, from which I was
 " then discharged; nor will I." — " This," observed the
 earl, " is different from what, the other day, ~~was~~ reported
 " to the king." — The primate proceeded: " Still listen,
 " my son. As much as the soul is superior to the body, by
 " so much it is your duty, to obey God and me, rather
 " than an earthly monarch. Neither law, nor reason,
 " permits, that a child judge or condemn his parent.
 " Wherefore, I decline the tribunal of the king and his
 " barons, submitting myself, under God, to the judgment
 " of our lord the pope, to whom, in the presence of you
 " all, I now *appeal*. The church of Canterbury, my order
 " and dignity; with all that pertains to them, I commit to
 " God and the protection of the holy see. And you, my
 " brethren and fellow-bishops, who have preferred the
 " obedience of man to that of God, I cite you to the pre-
 " sence of our lord the pope. Thus guarded by the power
 " of the catholic church and the apostolic see, I retire
 " thence."

The solemn address was taken to the king; and the primate turned round to leave the hall. As he passed through the

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the crowd, he was insulted ; and some called out, that he retired like a perjured traitor. Looking sternly at the revilers, he said : “ Did the sacredness of my character permit it, I would by arms defend myself, against that charge of perjury and treason.” The outer gate was locked ; but one of his attendants perceived the keys on the wall, and opening the door, they went out ; and amidst the acclamations of the clergy and people, gratulating him on his delivery, and a crowd of beggars, he reached the convent where he lodged.—In the evening, the bishops of Worcester, Hereford, and Rochester, who were attached to the primate, waited on the king, in his name, requesting that he might be permitted to quit the realm. “ To-morrow,” replied Henry, “ I will lay his request before the council.” But at night-fall, two noblemen, whose solemn asseverations could not be doubted, informed the archbishop, that certain persons of high rank had conspired against his life, who were mutually pledged to perpetrate their design. This, it seems, determined him to attempt an immediate escape ; wherefore, ordering a couch to be prepared in the church, as if he meant to take sanctuary there, before midnight, attended by two monks and a servant, he left the convent, and soon afterwards the walls of Northampton, passing northward through a gate which was left unguarded.—It was Tuesday the fifteenth of October.

Thus closed the council of Northampton, which, during six days, exhibited a scene of that violence and disorder, which marked the judicial proceedings of the age. The meeting of Clarendon, though somewhat more decorous,

was not better fitted to the purposes of distributive justice and general legislation. A subject of some importance opens before me, and the obvious connection of things demands elucidation. But as so many authors have written on the origin of feudal government, and of its particular character, as established in this country by the conqueror and his immediate successors, for me it can only be necessary, briefly to trace some general outlines, that no want of evidence may bewilder, or obstacles impede the easy progress of, my reader. I have no favourite theory to present, but such as the facts of history, as they occur, have formed, and which the evolving series of events may gradually tend to establish.

That the government, introduced at the conquest, was not, at once, completed, and that even in the present reign, it was, in many instances, fluctuating and undefined, though a hundred years had elapsed from its first establishment, will not be denied by him who has reasoned from experience, and read with caution. The new system, we know, reluctantly coalesced with the Saxon laws, which breathed a better spirit, and to which laws even the conquerors themselves soon professed an attachment. Besides, it has been often said that, even in countries where it had no such obstacles to contend with, the feudal form of government never moved on any certain and unvarying principles, whereby the lives and property of the vassal were secured, or the power and prerogative of the sovereign were ascertained. Where not the cool deliberations of statesmen, weighing the passions of men and calculating contingencies, had spoken, but the hasty decision of warriors,

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of the Anglo-
Norman go-
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warriors, whom no foresight guided, had sketched the rude outline of polity and legislation, much necessarily was left to the precarious issue of events, to human caprice, and to such circumstances, as all the varying changes of power on one hand, and of submission on the other, should progressively generate. If the advantages of the feudal system were many, more were its inconveniences; of which no better proof can be required, than the evidence of its decline in all the kingdoms of Europe, as the rights of man, from the growing importance of every member to the greater good of the community, were more clearly understood. But I believe, all circumstances duly weighed, it will be found that; at this time, the feudal polity, imperfect as it was, was best adapted to the general state of things in this country, and on the continent of Europe. I confine myself to England.

Power of the king.

The power of the king was *monarchical*: he was the source of all dignity and command, and agreeably to the first principles of the system, the whole landed property of the realm belonged to him. Originally acquired by the right of conquest, he had distributed amongst his followers such portions of it, as their services or his own partiality had decided, and this on certain conditions, which seem never to have been separated from the act of assignment, and on which the notion of feudal property did essentially rest. The principal condition was, the return of service for the favour or *benefice* conferred. The duties then of the sovereign and his vassals were built on the noble foundation of *bounty* and *gratitude*. The property assigned was denominated a *fief*; and fiefs which, at first, were revocable at will, acquired, in process

of time, a more permanent tenure : they were granted during life, and then became hereditary in families, so long as the original condition of *service* was complied with. This service was chiefly *military*, and the king could call for it, as the exigences of the times might seem to require. — In his hands was lodged the *executive* power ; and without his assent no laws could be made or altered. It will even be seen, in the course of this history, that the royal edict alone was admitted to have the full force of law. But in the regular order of government, a more temperate form prevailed, and the conduct of the sovereign was directed by the advice of a council.

The reader has recently witnessed two *national* assemblies, summoned by the king. They were what our historians call, the *great council* ; and the stated times of its meeting were the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whit-fun tide. The barons, and the immediate tenants of the crown, attended ; for it was a part of that *service* which, as vassals, they owed to their supreme lord. In the king and this council, agreeably to the spirit of the feudal institution, resided the *legislative* power ; and for obvious reasons, it was his wish, that it should be often convened, and be fully attended. There, at the head of his vassals, he appeared in the lustre of majesty, ordaining laws, or demanding justice against those who had violated the compact which bound them to their lord. In the first capacity he was at Clarendon ; in the second at Northampton. But often parade only and festivity were intended. The attendance of the vassal marked his subordination, and it served to check that independence which the great Barons much

National
Council.

BOOK I. affected, and which ever drew strength from the habits of power and patronage, they contracted at their own castles. By the same meetings, as their consent and advice were deemed necessary, as well in the enactment of laws, as in the infliction of punishment, the arbitrary power of the crown was also controuled. But in the second case, unless when the object of prosecution was a patriotic or powerful vassal, the king, by his authority or his disproportionate influence, was able to awe the meeting, to bias their suffrages, and to bend all to his will. This happened in the trial we have seen. The impetuous temper of Henry, in a cause, which he and his courtiers had the address to render unpopular, not only exposed the primate to his utmost vengeance, but it could intimidate into a weak compliance even those, whom every motive should have roused to a manly opposition.

The constituent members of this council, as I have said, were the immediate tenants of the crown, which comprised the archbishops, bishops, many abbots, and some priors; the barons, under which denomination the earls were included; and all such, whether knights, or others, who held their fees by military, or less honourable, service. They were all the king's homagers, his men, as to life, limb, and earthly honour. When Domesday-book was framed, the number of these vassals did not amount to seven hundred.—From the sentence of this court there was no appeal, unless, as we have seen, in matters of an ecclesiastical complexion. And that such appeals were then, agreeably to the usages of the nation, lawful, is evident from the conduct of the bishops, who, at Northampton,

with the consent of the king, cited the primate before their lord the pope. Nor was the eighth statute of Clarendon, as it was afterwards explained, meant to prohibit such appeals. But when the cause was purely civil, this appeal, though practised, as we saw, by Becket, must have been originally abusive. Churchmen did homage to the king for the fiefs they held of him, and by the act became his vassals. As such, therefore, they were amenable to his tribunal, and should have stood to the verdict of their peers. But, at this time, their great aim was to withdraw themselves from all secular jurisdiction, and to establish a new order of things. The appointment of spiritual courts, by the conqueror, tended to forward the new system, and the concessions of his successors helped on the same. The eleventh article of Clarendon, went to the restoration of the ancient system, and to renew that connection between the secular and clerical orders, which seems to have prevailed before the conquest. But the evil, supported by the canonists of the age, had taken too deep root, to be removed by desultory efforts. Such were those of Henry.

To look for the *commons*, (as they are now denominated,) in the assembly I am describing, that is, men who were not immediate tenants of the crown, argues little knowledge of the feudal institution, in which, a gradual subordination uniformly prevailed. The subvassals of the realm constituted an inferior order of men, whose duty was paid to their immediate, or *mesne*, lord, under whom they hold their fees, or lands; on whom they were dependent; and who was interposed between them and the throne. In relation to him, they stood in the same capacity, that he

BOOK I. and the other barons did to the king: these were peers of the realm; the subvassals, or *vavasors*, for so they were sometimes called, were peers of the barony to which they belonged. With what propriety then, might they claim a seat in the great legislative assembly, who already were fully represented there, as far as any representation was, at that time, intended; and who, besides, were members of a court, in all things, co-ordinate with their station? The barons, in their castles, had their own courts, appointed to make such arrangements, as the nature of their tenures, or the order of vassalage required, and to decide such suits as arose among their dependents. Attended by his officers and retainers, here the petty sovereign resided, in his commands often more arbitrary than his monarch, and generally more servilely obeyed, because his vassals had not the power of resistance, which the lord himself possessed. But also, as he lived with them in splendour and hospitality, sometimes, as the father of a family, they were much attached to him. His court, in miniature, resembled that of his sovereign, and his ministers were honoured with similar offices and titles. Nothing then, it seems, but the love of controversy, in violation of an obvious system, and, what is more, of the unequivocal representations of contemporary writers, could have impelled certain men to draw the subvassals of the baronage from their proper sphere, and place them in feasts which, as yet, were unadapted to them.

King's court.

Besides the national council, which I have described, was the king's court, denominated *curia regis*, which generally attended his person, and wherein himself often sat

sat to hear causes, and to pronounce judgment, in civil and criminal suits, among his barons. Here, likewise, were managed the concerns of the royal revenue. In the absence of the king, the chief or *grand justiciary* presided, who was the first magistrate in the state, nearest to the sovereign in power and authority. To this court, as we have seen, Becket was cited, in the cause of John, mareschal of the exchequer, and was fined for non-appearance. Originally few appeals were made to the *curia regis*, all causes being determined at their proper tribunals, in the counties, and in the courts of barony; but, as the oppression of the nobles grew, and the science of law became more intricate, and the influence of the crown extended, appeals were common, the subordinate judicatures lost their credit, and business accumulated in the hands of the king's ministers. The reader will witness the progress of this change, which, from a combination of causes, tended much to increase the royal power. — The other officers of this court were, the constable, mareschal, seneschal, chamberlain, treasurer, and chancellor. Such barons, as thought proper, might also attend. The *curia regis*, at this time, seems also to have been called the court of *exchequer*, (*Scaccarium*,) from a chequered cloth which covered the table, at which the officers sat; and it comprehended the whole business, which is now shared among our four courts, the chancery, the king's bench, the common pleas, and the exchequer.

The name of *chancellor* having often been mentioned, it may be proper to observe that, at this time, he had no distinct court, in which he presided. The great seal was

BOOK I. in his custody : he supervised all charters, and all acts and pro~~pects~~, which issued in the king's court, and put the seal to them. He was chief counsellor to the king, and, as we saw in the case of Becket, generally attended on his person. The vacant bishoprics and abbeys were often left in his custody.

County court.

A third *court* was that of the *county* or hundred, descended, it is thought, from the Saxons, the office of which was to judge between the vassals of different baronies. The sheriff, then called *viscount*, presided, an officer appointed by the king, and in whose department, besides, it was, to keep the public peace, to stock and improve the royal demesne, and to collect the revenue. The greatest barons were obliged to attend the county courts, and to assist the sheriff in the administration of his office. But the resort and business even of these courts, we shall see, were gradually absorbed by the extension of the royal judicature, in the appointment of *itinerant judges*, by which means, the whole *judicial* power was ultimately lodged, with the *executive*, in the hands of the sovereign.

Revenue of
the crown.

The power of the Norman kings was also supported by a great and independent revenue, the principal branches of which were : —

1. The *royal demesne* or *crown-lands*, which were very extensive, and comprehended, beside manors, many of the towns and chief cities of England. As recorded in Domesday-book, the royal manors, at that time, were fourteen hundred and twenty-two ; and we know that their number was afterwards much augmented. This demesne was not legally alienable ; but it will be seen, how

wantonly

wantonly it was sometimes disposed of, and how arbitrarily resumed. BOOK I.

2. *Escheats*; under which term was comprehended, all lands which became vested in the crown, by devolution, forfeiture, seizure, or some similar title, that is, in default of heirs, or for crimes and breach of duty towards the superior lord. These escheats the prince was permitted to alienate, though gradually they were confounded with the *ancient demesne*, which they contributed to extend.

3. *Feudal profits*; which were the reliefs to be paid, on the death of his ancestor, by every heir that held his lands by barony, or knight's-service, that is, by every military tenant *in capite*, when he took possession of his inheritance. Before *Magna Charta*, these reliefs were not limited by law, and therefore often arbitrarily imposed.—*Wardships* were another feudal profit. During the nonage of his vassals, the king received the revenues of their estates, allowing what he thought proper for their education and maintenance; nor afterwards could they marry, either male or female, without his consent, to obtain which large sums were often given.

4. The *ferms* of counties, generally let to the sheriff; and of towns, burghs, and gilds, situated in the royal demesne.

5. *Fines* and *amerciaments*, of many kinds, in civil and criminal cases, and for forest-trespasses. Fines were reduced to three general heads: fines for *liberties*, that is, for grants and confirmation of liberties, or for franchises and exemptions, of all which the instances were numberless. — Fines in *law-proceedings*, that is, fines to have justice and right; fines

BOOK I. fines for writs, pleas, trials, and judgments; fines for ~~execution~~ or speeding the right; fines for stopping, or delays of pleas, trials, or judgments. Proceedings most iniquitous, but the source of great wealth, to obviate which the forty-seventh clause of Magna Charta was decreed:— Fines of a *mixed nature*; that is, for the king's favour, or that he would remit his displeasure, for his aid and protection, to be released out of prison, and for acquittals in divers cases, for leave to hold or quit certain offices, for permission to trade, to open mines, and for many other things of a miscellaneous nature.— *Amerciaments*; which were levied for crimes, trespasses, and defaults, the occasions of which were manifold, particularly under the head of the forest-laws, when the king possessed sixty-eight forests, thirteen chaces, and seven hundred and eighty-one parks, in different parts of England,

6. *Aid*; which was deemed an honourable service or duty, rendered by a free vassal to his lord, and of which were three sorts due to the crown, by common right. Aid to make the king's eldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, and to ransom his person when taken in war. It was paid by all the king's immediate tenants, whether they held their fees by barony, or knight's service, or by serjeanty, or by rent service, socage, or other service, of which many instances will occur. The sums assessed, generally *per fee*, and the mode of raising it, varied at different times.

7. *Scutage*: this also was a duty, or service, arising out of baronies and knights fees. It denoted *servitium scuti*, the service of the shield, and was rendered thus:— for every

every knight's fee, the service of one knight ; and as baronies were composed of knights fees, they were charged according to the number of fees, whereof each barony, by its original enfeoffment, did consist. The service of scutage was performed, either personally in the king's army, or by pecuniary commutation, as we saw in the war of Toulouse ; and as the latter mode of discharging it became usual, the term *scutage* is often to be understood to mean that pecuniary commutation only, money in lieu of personal service. The sums assessed on each fee, and levied by the king's commissioners, were likewise very variable.

8. *Tallage* ; which was a general duty levied on the royal demesne, sometimes called *donum*, sometimes *affisa*, and sometimes *hidage*, or *carucage*, that is, so much for each hide or caruc of land, holden by base or inferior tenure. —A *hide* of land is generally thought to have been as much as a single plough could till in a year, or as much as would be sufficient to maintain a gentleman's family for that time, and in this sense must have varied according to the nature of the soil. A knight's fee seems to have consisted of two hides of land, or of two hides and a half.

9. *Customs* : these, from the obvious import of the word, were duties paid by merchants and traders, for their merchandises imported or exported, and for commodities conveyed along the Thames, and some other rivers. But as the trade of the nation, excepting, perhaps, in the article of wine, was not great, no large revenue was raised from this quarter.

I have stated the principal articles of the royal revenue, which, though considerable in their general amount,

BOOK I. constituted no fixed and stated income, much of it arising from incidental and varying profits. But the mode of assessment, as well as the sums assessed, were generally vexatious to the vassals, and the majesty of the crown was often villified by the unworthy practices, to which it had recourse, and the extortions of its ministers. Till the reign of Henry I. the rents from the demesne lands were usually paid in provisions, and other supplies for the household; but these afterwards were commuted into money, which was carried into the treasury.—I wish to observe that, what I have said of the king and his immediate vassals, in regard to his feudal powers, and many of the branches of revenue, must be applied to the barons and their vassals, in a scale of co-ordinate subordination. For they also had their tenants, who held of them by subinfeudation, and were therefore intitled to *escheats*, to *reliefs*, to *wardship*, to *fines* and *amerciaments*, to *aid*, to *scutage*, and to *village*, though the words themselves are not, I believe, always applied to them. Nor were the barons less arbitrary; or less rapacious, than their supreme lord, by whose conduct they seemed ambitious to square their general deportment.

Army.

The tenures introduced by the Normans gave strength to the kingdom. For the nobility were soldiers, paid and maintained by the lands they held; and their vassals were again soldiers, supported by a similar arrangement. Thus, without the expence, and the danger to liberty of a standing army, forces sufficient to guard the country from invasion, and to serve the crown in foreign wars, were always kept up; and the resource seemed as fixed and exhaustless, as the lands themselves on which they lived. Such a force also,

also, composed of men, whose property in the realm, and whose rank in life, naturally interested in the best welfare of the country, was admirably, it should seem, adapted to watch the designs of an ambitious monarch, and to oppose them: but then the same tenures, which gave them this power, too often likewise enabled them, turbulent and ambitious as they were, to disturb the public peace, to throw off their allegiance, and, within the bounds of their own domains, to exercise the tyranny they would not brook in their sovereign.

When the occasion called for arms, the king summoned his barons and tenants *in capite*, holding knights fees, to be ready to do their service in his army, according to the number of their fees, and quantity of their tenure. The summons was directed to the sheriffs of the counties, and the place of rendezvous named, at which, on a stated day, they were to appear with their arms and horses. Each baron then, in like manner, summoned his own military tenants; and they waited on him *in arms*, ready to march at his command. Thus was the feudal army formed; but the period of service, at their own charges, was of forty days only, after which they were at liberty to return home, or it became the duty of the king to maintain them. Those who did not obey the summons were amerced. But as such armies were ill calculated for long wars, or for foreign service, the commutation often took place, which I mentioned under the name of *scutage*, whereby large sums of money were raised, and the prince was enabled to purchase a mercenary force, more subservient to his will, and better practised in military discipline. When the tenant *in capite*

BOOK I. paid scutage to the king, he was entitled to have scutage from his own tenants, for the military fees they held of him, and he might compel them by distress.—The *spiritual* barons, whose fees were charged with military service, were not bound to personal duty. They sent soldiers in their stead, or they fined to the king, that is, they paid a scutage proportioned to their fees. But though exempted from the service of arms, as the canons of the church also ordained, and the decency of their profession seemed to require, bishops, as we shall see, often appeared in the field, regardless of the privilege which consigned them to the inglorious occupations of prayer and preaching. Ecclesiastics who held lands in *franc almoign*, that is, under the obligation of praying for the soul of the granter or feoffer, were free from every military duty. Under this tenure the church held great possessions, to obviate the effect of which, the statute of *mortmain* was afterwards enacted.

Navy.

The *navy*, at this time, was very inconsiderable. During the reigns of the Saxon kings, while the nation was infested by the northern corsairs, its maritime force is represented, on some occasions, to have been raised to an unparalleled height. But we know with what success the invaders repeated their attacks; to suspend which, a composition was entered into, which subjected the nation to an infamous tribute. This tribute was raised by a hidage or land-tax, called *danegeled*, and which, though originally intended for the purpose, I have mentioned, continued to be levied, even after the conquest, when invasions threatened, and by some moderns has been improperly considered as a fund for the perpetual support of the navy.—The ships of war, of which

we read, were *gallies*, with one or two tiers of oars, to the BOOK I. prow of which was fixed a picce of wood, called a spur, designed to strike and pierce the ships of the enemy.—The *cinqe ports*, by their tenures, and some other maritime towns, were the principal support of the navy, unless on alarming occasions, when *danegeld* was levied. But the whole subject is very obscurely treated by the historians of the age. During the reign of Henry, who was master of almost all the French coast, and when no invasion was apprcheded, little attention seems to have been given to naval concerns. We shall behold his son, in the pride of chivalry, sailing to the east, at the head of a puissant armament.

In times antecedent to the conquest, various compilations had been made of the English laws; but that of the Confessor, as it was the last, and probably the most comprehensive, acquired the greatest reputation. What these laws were, has never been specifically ascertained; because, as it seems generally admitted, many of them might rather be denominated *customs*, than legal statutes, and, as such, would be more liable to change. That there was an *unwritten* law, received under the name of *customs*, is plain from the transactions of Clarendon; and to them the lapse of years and the charters of kings, would give a more lasting stability. Whatever were the laws, either collected or enacted by the confessor, *common*, *penal*, or *mixed*, under the general denomination of *customs*, them the conqueror received and confirmed to the nation by a statute, with such *additions* as he deemed *beneficial*. The same code was confirmed by the succeeding charters of Henry I. Stephen, and,

BOOK I. and, as has been mentioned, of the present king. On this subject more will be said hereafter. The *common law* of the land, therefore, was that of their Saxon ancestors, with some additions and amendments, as the state of things might require ; and it is remarkable that the Norman settlers, with an uncommon predilection, soon became attached to it. So well did its spirit comport with liberty and the general rights of men !

Degrees of nobility.

The degrees of *nobility* have been succinctly mentioned :
 1. *Earls* which was an hereditary honour, originally conferred by the king, and limited as to number by that of the counties, in which they held an official superintendance. Sometimes, by marriage or the course of descent, more than one earldom united in the same person, rendering him, if factious, a vassal dangerous to the throne, and to the peace of the nation. Some earldoms, by original grants, were more powerful than others, as that of Chester, which possessed, within its limits, almost a regal jurisdiction. To every earldom was annexed a *barony*, whereby their feudal service, with its several dependent duties, was alone ascertained ; that is, the tenure of barony, and not of earldom, constituted the legal vassal of the crown. Each earl was, at the same time, a baron ; as were the bishops, and some abbots, and priors of orders.—2. *Barons* : They were originally created by feoffment, the honour being properly territorial, and descending to male or female issue in a regular succession, according to the right of primogeniture. Baronies were annexed to certain lands, and these were composed of knight fees, charged with personal service and other burthens, agreeably to the number of the fees ; for, whatever

whatever it was, either extent or value of the land, which determined this number, we find that the baronies were very unequally divided. Each fee, as I have observed, was charged with the service of one knight. We read of baronies which consisted of three, ten, or twenty fees, and of others, as that of the honour of Gloucester, in the reign of king John, which consisted of three hundred and twenty seven. More than one barony might be vested in the same person.—Besides the military service, to which every baron was obliged, in virtue of his fief, he was also bound to attend the king in his supreme court, to assist in his judgments, and to give him faithful counsel, in the concerns of state and in the judicial proceedings with his peers. To what contributions, as a tenant in chief of the crown, he was liable, has been related.—Some nobles held their lands of the crown by *grand-sejeanty*, which was not always a military service, whereby they were bound to carry the king's banner, or lance, to bear his sword at the coronation, or to be his sewer, his carver, or his butler. This was deemed the highest and most illustrious feudal service, and the tenure, consequently, was most honourable. So exalted, in the spirit of the constitution, was the idea entertained of *royalty!*

But there was an honorary dignity, which, in those days, could give a new lustre even to the crown: I mean, *the order of knighthood*, not now a novel institution, and which, in its origin and object, partook of the religious and military character. The ceremony of initiation, in various countries, was very similar; the essential part of which seemed to consist, in girding the knight with his sword, in

putting

BOOK I. putting on his feet a pair of gilt spurs, and in striking him gently with a sword on the neck or shoulders, whilst the minstrels, with their songs and music, graced the solemnity. At first, none but kings and princes, and men of tried valour and approved virtue, were admitted to the honour: but as every knight had a power to make other knights, the number soon increased, and the merits of the candidates were less scrupulously regarded. Their occupations, independently of the romantic engagements they entered into, were excellently adapted to give energy to the principle of honour, and to teach the duties of war: even the amusements of chivalry, in tilts and tournaments, were a perpetual discipline and school of prowess.—According to the number of fees which composed his barony, each nobleman, as has been said, was bound to furnish his quota of knights; but from ostentation, or when his income allowed it, he retained many more in his service, as was related of Becket, in the war of Toulouse. They were his companions in war, at the chace, and in the festive hours of domestic amusements. The knights were attended by *esquires*, who were themselves candidates for, and were generally promoted, to the dignity of knighthood. It should, however, be noticed, that the rank of knighthood was that of gentry, and not of nobility. In Latin they were called *milites*. — I must also observe that, as there were many knights-fees, that is, lands or tenements charged with military service, which were not annexed to baronies, they might be possessed by the knights themselves, or by other inferior tenants, who, in their own persons, were bound to discharge the service.

After the nobility and knights, came this order of men, who, as holding of the crown by the honourable service of arms, were themselves deemed honourable. They formed the lower rank of gentry; but, not many years afterwards, they were compelled, under pain of forfeiting their fees, to be girt with the sword of knighthood.—To the same rank, in a lower degree, seem also to have belonged the other tenants of the crown, that is, such as held lands by *soctage*, or *petit serjeanty*, and the inhabitants of cities, and boroughs, and castles, who held of the king, under certain stipulated services or rents.—The tenure of *soctage*, in propriety of expression, comprehended them all; for it has been defined, “that every tenure, which is not a tenure ‘in chivalry, is a tenure in soctage.’” What the word *soc* or *soctage* properly meant, has not been clearly ascertained; but if it be understood in contradistinction to *military* or *knight's service*, all ambiguity will be sufficiently removed, and the whole property of the nation will be conceived as divided into knights fees and soctage tenures. *Socmen* are sometimes styled *freeholders*, (*liberē tenentes*,) not as if they held their lands free from all charge of rent or service, (for, at this time, there seem to have been no such tenures,) but in the sense just mentioned, as not bound to military service.

To this order of men, in a regularly descending scale, succeeded the various denominations of *subvassals*, who, in all things, were the exact counterpart of the tenants in chief of the crown. To say more on the subject would be superfluous. A baron on his domain, in the distribution of his property, in the order of his retainers and tenants,

BOOK I.
Inferiorant.
and bondu.e.

BOOK I. and in the exaction of rents, services, and dues, was the sovereign in miniature.

After these came a race of men, who, placed on the footing of domestic animals, possessed no better privileges than they. They were of two sorts: such as, having nothing they might call their own, termed *villeins in gross*, were immediately bound to the person of their lord, and his heirs, for whom they worked, and by whom they were maintained: the others, called *villeins regardant to a manor*, to which they were annexed, rented small portions of land, at the will of their lord, for which they tilled his soil, and performed all other predial works. From their inability to quit their station arose the peculiar hardship of their servitude.—These bondmen were, doubtless, of Saxon origin, having descended, with their lands, to the present possessors. But it was some mitigation of their state, that their lives and limbs were under the protection of the king, (for a lord that killed his slave, was as liable to be punished, as if he had killed a freeman,) and the few goods they possessed were secured from all hands, but those of their masters.—Every lord might enfranchise his slave; and the laws and policy of the Normans were peculiarly favourable to it. One of the laws of the conqueror enacts: “ If any one is willing to free his slave, let him deliver him by his right hand to the sheriff, in the full county court, and proclaim him discharged by manumission, from the yoke of his servitude; and let him shew him the doors open and his way free, and put into his hands the arms of a freeman, namely, a lance and a sword: which being done, he is made a freeman.” Also if a villein, who had

had fled from his lord, remained unclaimed, for a year and a day, on the king's demesne lands, he gained his freedom; or, for the same time, in any *privileged*, that is, chartered, town, and had been received into their community, as a citizen.—Thus, as the practice of *infranchisements* grew more frequent, the ignominious state gradually expired: those who held in *villenage* became *copyholders*, and the domestic and predial slaves were made free servants and labourers. The sun of liberty shone equally on all⁴.

The progressive delineation of events, as it will receive light from the short sketch I have exhibited, of the Anglo-Norman government and polity, so will it serve to illustrate what, perhaps, may still appear too imperfect and obscure in the description. Other matters will also arise to extend the view, to give harmony to the parts, and to complete the general plan.

⁴ Madox Hist. of Exch. Tindall on Rapin. Hume's Hist. append. ii. Hist. of Hen. II. vol. ii. Hoveden, Gervasius, and others.

END OF BOOK I.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E I G N
O F
K I N G H E N R Y T H E S E C O N D,

With the E V E N T S of the Period.

B O O K II.

The primate escapes into Flanders.—Henry sends ambassadors to France.—They appear before Alexander.—Becket goes to Sens, and opens his defence.—Henry's revenge.—A conference projected.—Alexander returns to Rome.—Henry suspected of inclining to the antipope, is cleared by Foliot.—War with the Welsh.—The bishop of Lisieux writes to Becket.—Heretics punished.—Becket appointed legate, writes to the king.—Henry goes to France.—Appeals to Rome.—The primate pronounces his censures.—The English bishops appeal, and address the primate.—He answers.—Writes also to Foliot.—Is driven from Pontigny.—John of Oxford's embassy.—Affairs of Italy and Rome.—Legates arrive in France.—Conferences of Gisors and Argentan.—Hostilities in France and Flanders.—Death of Matilda.—Frederic escapes from Lombardy.—Embassy from Constant

Constantinople to Alexander.—Commotions in France, which end in a general peace.—Henry and the primate meet.—Singular behaviour of Louis, and Henry's fears.—Nuncios arrive from Rome.—Various fruitless conferences.—Severe edict of the king.—New commissioners appointed.—Prince Henry crowned.—Henry and the primate are reconciled.—Difficulties are raised.—The primate returns to England.—Is assassinated.—His character.

BOOK II.

1164.

The primate
escapes into
Flanders.

WHETHER from fear, which deranges every settled purpose, or from indetermination, or from a hope that the pursuit of his enemies might be thus eluded, Becket, on leaving the walls of Northampton, took his journey northward. It would be expected, that he would make for the coast nearest to the French shore. On the second day he arrived at Lincoln, a distance of more than fifty miles, whence going to a hermitage in the fens, he rested three days. The retirement of the place gave him confidence; and here he planned his new route, changed his dress to that of a common monk, and was called brother Christian. In this disguise, turning to the south-east, they again set forward, travelling only by night, through un frequented paths, and, during the day, reposing in the cells of the neighbouring convents. They came to Estray in Kent, a manor belonging to the priory of Canterbury, and not far from that city. For eight days he here remained, unknown to all but one priest, while Herbert de Bosham, the companion of his flight, and his historian, was engaged in providing a small boat at Sandwich. In this boat they embarked, and about the close of the evening of the same day, landed not far from Gravelines in Flanders. It was the

the beginning of November, and about the fifteenth day since his flight from Northampton. They were four in company^a.

Though the distance from Gravelines was not more than a league, yet the mirey road, for they were forced to travel on foot, added to the fatigue of the passage, soon exhausted all the priuate's strength. It blew a storm of wind and rain. Cold and wet as it was, he laid himself down on the ground: "I can go no further," said he: "get me some assistance." They procured a horse, and he entered Gravelines. At supper, though he sat in the lowest place, it was observed that their landlord eyed him with uncommon curiosity. His air and dignified manner, and the general cast of his countenance and person, raised him above the level of ordinary men; and fame, besides, had already divulged it in the country, that the archbishop of Canterbury was flying from the persecution of his enemies. The good man communicated his suspicions to his wife, and they began to treat him with a respect, that gave him little pleasure. Their best fruit, and greatest delicacies, they brought out, and placed them before brother Christian. "Sit down by me," said the prelate to his landlord, hoping by the familiar offer to quiet his surmises. He fell at his feet: "I thank God," said he, "that your lordship has deigned to honour my humble roof." "For whom then do you take me?" replied Becket: "do you not see that I am a poor monk, called Christian?" "Take what name you will," subjoined the host, "I know you are a great man, and I believe the archbishop of Canterbury bury."

^a Vita S. Tho. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

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"bury." To dissemble any longer might be dangerous: he therefore frankly owned who he was, trusting, by the confidential avowal, to secure his fidelity. The next day they departed, and the host was their guide^b.

The reader may wish to know what alarmed Becket, landed as he was on another shore.—Philip earl of Flanders, and Matthew, his brother, earl of Boulogne; besides being nearly related to Henry by their mother Sibilla of Anjou, had many obligations to him. To the first he had been guardian, during the absence of his father on a pilgrimage into Asia; and for the other he had procured a wife, Mary, the only surviving child of king Stephen, and with her the rich earldom of Boulogne. Mary had been a nun, and even abbess of Rumsey in Hampshire. Becket, at that time chancellor, opposed the uncanonical measure; but the lady consenting, she was stolen from her convent, and conveyed out of England, with the approbation of the king.—For these reasons, the primate could not rely on the protection of the earls; nor did he know but already they might have been apprised of his flight.

After another fatiguing journey, on foot, they arrived at Clairmarais, a convent near to St. Omer's. Here they were informed, that ambassadors from the king of England, had just entered the walls. The primate, therefore, instantly withdrew to a neighbouring hermitage, leaving two of his companions to watch their motions. The next day, the ambassadors proceeded on their journey, and Becket, being informed that there was nothing to fear, came out from his retirement, and was received, with every testimony of respect,

^b Vita S. Tho. l. ii. c. 3, 4.

respect, into the abbey of St. Bertin, within the gates of the city.

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Henry sends
embassadors
to France.

As soon as it had been known at Northampton, that the primate had secretly fled, Henry, much alarmed, took the advice of his council. They did not doubt but he would go over into France; and it was resolved to send ministers to Louis and to the pope, who should accuse the archbishop, and attempt to procure his deposition. A splendid embassy of prelates, clergy, and noblemen, was ordered instantly to depart; and a proclamation was issued, forbidding the servants of the archbishop to be molested, or his effects to be touched. Charged with the important commission, and loaded with presents, which they were commanded to disperse freely in the papal court, the embassadors were on the sea the same night as Becket, and on the same evening were on the road to St. Omer's. — They went first to the king, who was at Compiegne, and presented the letters they had brought from their master. The letters stated, “that *Thomas, late archbishop of Canterbury*, having fled “from England like a traitor, his majesty was requested “not to admit him into his territories.” “*Late archbishop!*” said the king, interrupting the reader; “and who then “has deposed him?—I, surely, am a king as well as my “brother of England; yet I have not authority to depose “the lowest clerk in my dominions. I knew this *Thomas*, “when he was chancellor to your king, whom he served “long and faithfully; and this now is his recompence, “that, when he drives him from England, he shall not be “admitted into France.” The embassadors hereon

• Vita S. Tho. l. ii. c. 5, 6. Gerv. an. 1164.

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1164.

requested that he would, at least, admonish his holiness not to give credit to the suggestions of Becket, against their master. To this Louis would not engage himself; they, therefore, left Compiegne, and repaired to Alexander at Sens^a.

The day after, came to Compiegne, Herbert de Bosham and his companion, who, step by step, had followed the royal embassy. “Are you of the primate’s family?” said the king, as they were admitted to his presence. “We are:” they replied. Louis embraced them; and they began their story, recounting the adventures of their journey, and what their master had suffered. The monarch listened with attention, and having taken the opinion of his council, he dismissed them, with assurances to the archbishop, that he had his protection, and might rely on a secure asylum near to his throne. They hastened to Sens. Here were the king’s ambassadors; and their arrival brought no welcome news to the court of Alexander. The cardinals were aware how much it was their interest, not to irritate so powerful and so rich a prince as Henry; and they saw the difficulties in which, by shewing favour to the primate, they should soon be involved. Besides, to all of them, at least, his cause did not seem to be the cause of God and their church. Already, perhaps, some part of the rich gifts, which the ambassadors bore, had been displayed before them. But Alexander, a prelate of great firmness, and whose general conduct, through this trying controversy, will merit praise, admitted the primate’s friends to a private audience, and treated them with respect. Yet never had

^a Vita c. 1, 7. Gerv. ib.

^c Vita c. 7, 8.

the Roman bishop stood in a situation, which demanded the exertion of greater policy, greater resolution, and greater forbearance. By supporting Becket, he would expose himself, as things then were circumstanced, to the loss of the papal chair ; and in deserting his cause, he would sacrifice, what were deemed, the immunitics and sacred rights of the universal church.

The next day, a consistory was called, at which the cardinals assisted ; and the ambassadors came to audience. They were the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, of Worcester, of Exeter, and of Chichester, with three of the king's chaplains, and the earl of Arundel, with three attendant barons, and a numerous retinue. Gilbert, of London then addressed his holiness.

" It is you, holy father, whom the care of the catholic church regards, that they who act wisely may find protection, and the unwise be punished. He can have no claim to your approbation, who, confident in himself, aims to disturb the concord of his brethren, the peace of the church, and our monarch's piety. Lately, on a trivial occasion, a dissention arose between the king and the priesthood, which, by moderate means, might have been easily extinguished. But my lord of Canterbury, following his own counsel, and not ours, proceeded too eagerly, not considering the malice of the times, and what mischief his violence might cause. For himself and us he wove a snare ; and had our consent gone with him, the evil had been greater. But because we would not concur with his designs, he has sought to turn the blame of his rashness upon us, upon the king, and upon the kingdom.

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" kingdom. Even, to increase the odium, when no violence was offered, or threats made, he fled, according as it is written, *the wicked flee when no man pursueth.*" " Brother," exclaimed the pope, " forbear." " My lord, I will," replied Gilbert. " I mean not on his account," subjoined his holiness, " but on your own." The bishop was abashed, and could proceed no farther.

The vain Hilary of Chichester then rose, and urging the same charge against the primate, unfortunately, in the warmth of his invective, used a wrong conjugation. " A man of his dignity," said he, " ought (*oportuebat*) to have behaved otherwise." The assembly laughed, and Hilary was reduced to silence.

The archbishop of York, observing how ill his brethren had succeeded, spoke with more discretion. " To no one, holy father, are the manners and inclinations of the primate of Canterbury better known, than to me. Such has ever been his disposition, that the resolution he has once adopted, he will not easily relinquish. Wherefore it may be believed, that he has too lightly engaged in this obstinate contest, from which no other means, in my opinion, can reclaim him, than the weighty interference of your sacred authority."

" There is no need of many words," observed the bishop of Exeter: " The cause cannot be determined in the absence of the primate: we therefore ask for legates, who may judge and decide between him and our lord the king."

The earl of Arundel, surrounded by his knights, stood in the consistory, and when the bishops had concluded, he desired

desired to be heared. Silence was ordered. He came forward, and in the English language spoke thus.—“ My lord,
“ we illiterate laymen are utterly ignorant of what the
“ bishops have just said; wherefore, as well as we can, we
“ must ourselves declare what our commission is. We
“ come not here to dispute, or to cast reproaches on any
“ man, particularly in the presence of so great a personage,
“ to whose nod and authority the whole world, as in duty,
“ bows the head. But we come, as is manifest, to lay
“ before you and the Roman court, the devotion and love,
“ which our lord the king has ever borne, and still bears
“ to you. And who are we? The greatest and most noble
“ whom all his dominions could supply, archbishops, bishops,
“ earls, and barons. Greater than these he had not, or
“ he would have sent them, to attest his reverencē to you
“ and to your church. To this we add, the fidelity and
“ respect of our royal master, which yourself, in your exal-
“ tation to the pontificate, first experienced, when to your
“ will he submitted himself, his subjects, and all his pos-
“ sessions. Nor is there, we believe, in the christian world,
“ a prince more religious or devout than he, or who more
“ desires, by gentle means, to maintain the blessings of
“ concord. And my lord of Canterbury also, in his own
“ degree and order, is as well instructed, and in the con-
“ cerns of his charge is as discreet and prudent; though,
“ as some have thought, he may be sometimes too keen and
“ contentious. Were it not for the present difference,
“ the church and state would be mutually happy in peace
“ and concord, under so good a prince, and so excellent
“ a pastor. It is therefore our earnest request, that you
“ would

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1164.

" would apply your gracious endeavours to remove this difference, and to give us back peace and friendship."

The address, which spoke the good sense, the conciliating disposition, and the courtly character of the noble earl, was received with general applause. Alexander replied.—“ My son ; the manifold and great favours which the king of England has conferred on me, I well know, and they are stamped on my memory. To make a due return for these is my ardent wish, and I will do it on every occasion, as far as shall be consistent with my duties to God. But you have asked for legates, and you shall have them.” — For legates they had indeed asked, but intending that they should be sent into England, whether the primate also should return, and be there judged. The bishop of London therefore, having kissed the pontiff's foot, requested to know, with what powers the legates would be sent? “ With proper powers,” answered Alexander. “ Yes ;” observed the bishop, “ but we beg they may decide the cause without appeal.” “ That,” said the pope, “ is my glory, which I will not give to another. And certainly, when the primate is judged, it shall be by ourselves. Reason does not allow that we remand him into England, there to be judged by his adversaries among his enemies.” He then proposed, that they should wait for the arrival of the archbishop, who would soon be at Sens. This they refused to do, alledging, that their master had fixed a day for their return. The ambassadors were disconcerted, and dropt some words about the schism, and the interest of the antipope ; the cardinals were alarmed, and proposed more lenient measures ; but

Alexander

Alexander remained inflexible. They retired therefore, without the pontiff's blessing, and departed for England¹.

BOOK II.

1164.

Becket goes to Sens, and opens his defence.

The primate having staid, some days, at the abbey of St. Bertin, was advised to go to Soissons. Here he was visited by the French monarch, who promised him his protection, and offered him the free use of the royal treasury. The prelate thanked him, but refused, at this time, his gracious offer. He proceeded to Sens. The cardinals received him coolly; but Alexander admitted him to his presence, sympathised with all his feelings, and appointed a solemn audience for the next day. The next day the whole court assembled, and the primate thus opened his defence.

—“ Though I pretend to no superiority of understanding; “ yet, surely, I am not so weak, as, without cause, to have “ quitted England and its king. Had I been disposed to “ gratify his will in all things, my commands through his “ realm would have been cheerfully obeyed. Whilst, in “ that manner, I did serve him, in what did not succeed “ crown all my wishes? But when I adopted another con- “ duct, mindful of my profession and of the duties I owed “ to God, then began to cool the affection he had ever “ shewn me. Still, even now, were I willing to recede “ from my purpose, I should want no mediator to plead “ my cause. The church of Canterbury was once deemed “ the western sun; but its brightness is now obscured. “ Rather therefore I would suffer any torment and many “ deaths, than by dissembling, countenance the evils to “ which, in these days, she is exposed. Lest you should “ imagine, I have wantonly, and from vain ostentation,

“ engaged

¹ Vit. c. 9. Gerv. Dicct. an. 1164.

" engaged in this contest, yourselves shall judge." So saying, he produced the copy of the customs he had received at Clarendon. " Behold," continued he, " what the king of England has enacted against the liberty of the church! Yourselves will tell me, whether with a safe conscience, these laws may be tolerated?"

The constitutions were read: when even they, who till now had opposed the archbishop, loudly praised his conduct; and the court came to an unanimous resolution, That, *in the person of the primate, the universal church should be succoured.* Alexander more than once perused the statutes: then turning, with great emotion, to Becket, he severely reprimanded him for having so weakly promised to obey them. He added: " Though amongst these customs, which you have heared, there be none good, yet some there are which the church may tolerate. The others have been condemned by ancient councils, and are contrary to the holy canons." — The court proceeded severally to examine the articles, noting what they condemned, and what they tolerated. The latter are but six: the 2, 6, 11, 13, 14, 16, as before stated.— Then addressing the primate, Alexander said: " You weakly fell, indeed, but you rose again; have since suffered much; and before you left England, applied to me for the pardon of your transgression. Your repentance and the sacrifices you have made, merit indulgence."

On the following day, as the pope and cardinals were in a more private room, the archbishop entered, and thus accosted them. " My fathers and lords: It is no where lawful

"lawful to speak untruly, much less in the presence of
 "God and you. Wherefore I confess it freely, but with
 "tears, that it is my own guilt which has brought these
 "troubles on the English church. I ascended into the
 "fold of Christ, not by the door, for it was not a canoni-
 "cal election which called me, but the terror of secular
 "power which forced me in. Unwillingly, it is true, I
 "accepted the charge, yet it was the will of man, and not
 "of God, which induced me. What wonder then, if I
 "have succeeded so ill. However, as my brethren urged
 "me, had I surrendered my see, when the king threatened,
 "how pernicious an example should I have left to the
 "church. I deferred it to the present hour. And now,
 "making the acknowledgment you have heared, and
 "fearing for the event; sensible, likewise, how unequal
 "my strength is to the burthen, left the flock, by my
 "means, should perish, which it is my duty to feed, into
 "your hands, holy father, I resign my see." He took the
 ring from his finger, and gave it to the pontiff. The assem-
 bly was much moved.

A fair occasion was now offered for the termination of this unhappy controversy, and Alexander withdrew with the cardinals. — Were his resignation accepted, he might be provided with another see, and the king's anger being appeased, he would be more easily managed. Such was the opinion of many. Others contended that, the example would prove fatal to the church, if he who had protected her liberties, and withstood every allurement, should be thus sacrificed. Rather, they said, he must be compelled to resume his charge, and we will support the champion

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who has fought our battles. The majority approved this opinion, and the primate was called; when Alexander told him, how much they were now convinced of his zeal for religion, and of the purity of his motives; that what fault there might have been in his promotion, was cancelled by its acknowledgment and by the resignation he had made; that he restored him to all his functions, which he might exercise with security; that practised as he had been in the school of adversity, they viewed him as a model for imitation, dear to God and men, dear to himself and to the Roman church; in a word, that as he had been his fellow-sufferer and his associate in persecution, he would never desert him, as long as God should give him life. " But as hitherto," he concluded, " you have lived in affluence; and it is proper you should learn the lessons which poverty only can teach, I commend you to this holy person, (shewing him the abbot of Pontigny who stood near,) that under his roof you may live in that simple form, which becomes an exile and the soldier of Christ. There, content with little, pass the days which remain, till conflation come, and peace once more revisit us. In the mean time, be firm, and oppose them manfully who shall disturb the general concord." He gave him his benediction; and the primate, soon afterwards, leaving Sens, with the abbot of Pontigny, retired with him to his convent, a house of the Cistercian order, situated on the confines of Burgundy. He put on the coarse habit of the order, and entered into the discipline of the monastic life^b. It was about the beginning of December.

^b Vita c. 11, 12, 13. Gerv. ib.

I have been minute in relating these transactions, because they lead to a long series of events, and because, besides that they are curious, they serve to develope the characters of men, with whom the reader must wish to be acquainted.— When the primate arrived in France, the prospect before him was uncertain; · rather he had every reason to apprehend, that the power and influence of Henry would raise up new enemies against him, and cool the ardor of his friends. The benign countenance of the French king dissipated, in part, these alarms; · but he knew the temper of the papal court, where his cause must be ultimately decided. Was he sure that Alexander himself, in the crisis I have described, would risk so great a stake, when a temporary connivance, perhaps, might avert the evil? With a mind thus agitated, he opened his defence at Sens, and few orators, I think, have equalled him. He says nothing of the charges exhibited at Northampton, because they were of a civil nature, and as they principally regarded himself, might, he feared, excite but a cool interest in the breasts of his hearers. The statutes of Clarendon he brings forward. Well was he aware of their opposition to some favourite maxims of the Roman court. But on them even he does not pronounce: he refers the decision to their own judgment. At once all minds are with him, and his cause is pronounced to be their cause and the cause of God.

When we see how peremptorily, and without discussion even, the major part of those statutes are pronounced to be contrary to the evident discipline of the church, all surprise, surely, must cease, that our primate should so reluctantly have submitted to them. And if, after this submission, he

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repented, and sought for pardon, in what was he censurable? Ignorantly, or from motives of interest, or of policy, or of adulation, it was asserted, that they were the ancient customs of the realm. It could not be; nor was there any prescription in their favour. The temper of Lanfranc, (in the reign of the conqueror,) is well known; but more than that, can it be imagined that Anselm, firm as he was for the immunities of the church, would have given his sanction to these pretended customs? Yet from his time principally, the reign of Henry I. it is said, they claimed their origin. I touch not the spirit of the statutes, nor their rational tendency. The maxims of the twelfth century, in church as in state, are not to be estimated by such measures, as succeeding ages or ourselves have thought it expedient to adopt.

Becket having engaged the Roman court to condemn the customs of Clarendon, and to espouse the general quarrel, thought the moment favourable to a more personal enquiry. He knew how much it was his enemies wish to procure his deposition, and that every artifice would be used to effect it. Nothing could so radically obstruct their design, as a solemn confirmation of his election, by the pontiff and the Roman court. He resigns, therefore, the see of Canterbury into their hands, and does it in a manner to rouse their feelings, and to command their interest. In a moment of depression, some remorse might have arisen from the undue influence, which, he says, raised him to the see; but it will appear that, he did not always view it in so unfavourable a light. It might also be that, fatigued by troubles, and seeing no prospect of happier days, his mind recoiled

recoiled from the contest, and wished for repose. However this may have been, he was reinstated in all his honours, applause was given to his conduct, he was pronounced the champion of the church, and the pontiff, by a solemn promise, engaged to be his protector. — If the primate's mind, naturally inflexible, from this accumulation of incidents, became more firm; if, from this time, more than ever, he considered the cause as highly sacred, in which he was embarked; if a tincture of holy zeal or of enthusiasm, to which, before, he was perhaps a stranger, began to warm his thoughts, to invigorate his expressions, and to precipitate his actions, the effect was but natural, and should cause no surprise. The retirement of Pontigny would co-operate with the general impression.

The return of his ministers from their ineffectual embassy, but more than that, the news of the protection the primate had received from the French monarch, and from the papal court at Sens, blew into a flame the fiery soul of Henry. He confiscated the estates of the archbishop, and of those who had followed him, or had abetted his cause. To correspond with him, or to assist him in his exile, was declared to be criminal; and he forbade his name to be mentioned in the public prayers of the church. Nor was he yet satisfied. By a general proscription, all his relations, friends, and dependents, without distinction of sex or age, were exiled, to the number of nearly four hundred persons. Their lands also and goods were seized; and an oath was exacted from them, that they would go, without delay, to the archbishop, that he might be burthened with the charge of their maintenance, and suffer from the spectacle of their distress.

Henry's re
venge.

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distress.—The exiles crowded to Pontigny, and its solitude was disturbed by their cries. Soon, however, a general compassion was raised. The pope used his interest; the king of France gave them his protection; Becket wrote letters to all his friends; and even as far as Sicily, an asylum was opened to the distressed¹. — Wonderful, indeed, it was, that the king, in his anger, should so far have lost sight of the most obvious policy, as to adopt a measure, which could only exalt the primate's cause, and bring down infamy on his own. I say nothing of the cruelty of this indiscriminate proscription.

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A conference projected.

A rupture was now apprehended between the kings of France and England. The countenance shewn to Becket had much irritated the latter, and besides, Louis having married his other daughter by Eleanor, to his brother in law, the count of Blois, had invested him with the high office of seneschal, regardless of the rights of the earl of Anjou, to whom it belonged. Henry was earl of Anjou. Less provocations than these were, at that time, sufficient to kindle the flames of war, and to lay kingdoms waste: but, fortunately, such quarrels were as suddenly terminated, as they were precipitately begun. Matilda who, as has been said, resided constantly in Normandy, saw the rising storm, and wished to avert it. She sent a messenger to Alexander, requesting that he would mediate between her son and Louis, with an intimation that peace, she doubted not, might thus be restored to the English church. The pope accepted the christian office, and prevailed on the kings to meet at Gisors: but the interview was fruitless.

Among

¹ Vita c. 14. Cerv. Hoveden. Neidrig.

Among other matters of discussion, they debated the affair of the primate. Henry insisted, that his submission should be absolute, and that Louis should no longer protect him. To this the latter would not consent: they parted therefore.—A conference was then proposed between Henry and the pope; to which the king agreed, provided Becket were not present. The archbishop, however, by letter, dissuaded his holiness from the interview, assuring him that, without an interpreter, skilled in the king's language, and acquainted, as himself was, with his character, he would be circumvented by his subtlety. “ Give this answer to ‘‘ your king,” then said Alexander to the messengers who waited, “ that the Roman church has never, at the command of princes, refused her protection to any one, particularly when exiled in the cause of justice. To succour the oppressed, against the violence of their enemies, however great and powerful, is a privilege granted from above to the apostolic see.” The proud reply, which a fortunate turn in his circumstances seems to have dictated, put an end to the projected conference. Henry hastened back into England, whither affairs of moment called him; and Alexander prepared to return to Rome.

The Romans, sensible, at last, that the absence of their bishop with his court, was prejudicial to them; urged, besides, by the admonitions of the cardinal vicar, and by the sums of money he largely distributed; soon after the death of Octavian, had requested Alexander to return to the chair of St. Peter. He took the advice of his court, and of the kings who had protected him in their territories.

Alexander returns to Rome.

The

* Vit. c. 16. Joan. Sarisb. ep. 31. Dan. hist. de Fran. p. 320.

The latter particularly, whose realms had felt the burthen of his presence, were of opinion, that he should instantly comply with the wishes of the Roman people. He left Sens, in the beginning of the month of April, immediately after the feast of easter, and passing slowly through the provinces to the south, by Paris, Bourges, Clermont, and Pui, came to Montpellier, which he left in the mouth of August, and embarked, with his court, at Maguelone. The elements, it is said, and the machinations of his enemies, obstructed his voyage; but he landed safe in the port of Messina. His friend and vassal, William of Sicily, received him with his wonted kindness, loaded him with presents, and ordering a red-painted galley to be prepared for his holiness, and four others for his attendants, he sent the archbishop of Reggio, with a train of his nobles, to escort him triumphantly to Rome. The Roman people came out to meet him, and he entered the city amidst the warmest congratulations of the senators, citizens, and clergy. But it was the 21st of November, after a journey of more than seven months¹.

Henry sus-
pected of in-
clining to the
antipope, is
clement by
Foliot.

In the month of May, Frederic had held a diet at Wurtzbourg in Franconia, where himself, the princes of the empire, and many of the German prelates, solemnly pledged themselves by oath, to support Pascal, and never to acknowledge Alexander. Embassadors from Henry were at Wurtzbourg, Richard of Ivelchester, archdeacon of Poitiers, and John of Oxford, a chaplain to the king. In a moment of irritation, Henry had proposed, it seems, to send a more solemn embassy. What instructions his messengers

¹ Acta Alex. an. 1165. Neubrig. c. 17.

messengers had received, or what they proposed, in their master's name, to the diet, is uncertain. The emperor, indeed, in a circular letter, asserts, that they took the oath, just mentioned, and renounced all obedience to Alexander, for the king and the realm of England. But this is afterwards contradicted, on such good authority, as to make it evident, either that the ambassadors exceeded their commission, or that Henry was ashamed of an order he had precipitately given, to frighten the pontiff into a weak compliance with his wishes^m.

Alexander, while on his journey, heared at Clermont of these transactions, and immediately wrote to the bishop of London, the confidential friend and spiritual director of Henry. He complains that the king, by communicating with schismatics and men notoriously excommunicated, had abandoned the church, which he persecuted in the person of the primate of Canterbury. He therefore orders Gilbert, that he join the bishop of Hereford, (the learned Robert de Melun,) and that they both labour to reclaim Henry to his former veneration for the holy see, that he neither hinder appeals or journeys to Rome, and that he restore the archbishopⁿ. It is dated the tenth of July.

Gilbert replied; That with his brother of Hereford, agreeably to the orders of his holiness, he had waited on the king, even when, at the head of his army, he was marching into Wales, and had laid his paternal remonstrances before him, in all their truth and strength of colouring. With many thanks, says he, he received your correction, and replied with great modesty to each article:—that his

^m Ep. S. Th. Ed. Brux. ep. 69, 70, 71, 72, 102.

ⁿ Ib. ep. 37.

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mind has never been turned from you ; and that while you continued to behave as a father to him, he would make a filial return, and would humbly obey you, not forgetting, at the same time, what he owed to himself, and the dignity of his crown : — that if he has not shewn you the same respect as formerly, the reason was ; that, having aided you, as he had done, when you wanted his succour, you, in return, had hardly complied with a single petition he had made : — that still he remained immovably fixed in his obedience to you ; wherefore, that he will hinder no one from visiting the Roman court, nor hitherto, he says, has he ever done it.—With regard to appeals ; That he considers it as an ancient privilege of his realm, that no clerk, in a civil cause, shall go out of his kingdom, unless he shall have first endeavoured, by his authority, to obtain legal justice, but that, when this has been done, he may freely appeal to you, nor will he oppose it. — That, though he knew the emperor was a schismatic, he had not, till now, heared of his excommunication ; that in his transactions, however, with him, he would abide by the judgment of the English church.—That he had not expelled the primate from his realm ; and that he was free to return as he had freely departed, whenever it should please him, provided he were disposed to make him the satisfaction he had demanded, and to observe the royal customs to which he had sworn.—The bishop concludes by entreating his holiness to proceed with the greatest moderation ; and he tells him that severity may drive the king and many of his people to withdraw from his obedience^o. The king, he observes,

may

may be softened by mildness, and be conquered by admonitions and patience.

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About the same time, another letter, nearly in similar terms, was written to the cardinals by the king, or rather, by Foliot in the king's name.—The pope was pleased, and, in a second epistle, thanking the bishop for his services, he entreats him often to repeat his good advice to Henry, and to take for his co-adjutors the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Hereford, and the empress Matilda; nor does he forget again to recommend to him the cause of the primate. He was then just embarking on the Mediterranean sea.

The archbishop of Rouen thus wrote to Henry, cardinal priest of St. Nereus: “For our lord, the king of England, “I can securely answer, that by himself, or by his messengers, he never swore or promised to the emperor, to “adhere to the antipope, and to relinquish Alexander. “And this I also know, that, in regard to the matrimonial “treaty, to effect which the Germans laboured much, “Henry would make no concessions, but what should be “consistent with his obedience to Alexander and the “church. The empress, however, and myself, have strenuously insisted that he make all haste to remove this “stigma from his honour.”

The marriage, here spoken of, was between Matilda, the eldest daughter of the king, and Henry, surnamed the Lion, whom I have more than once mentioned, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, to whom, in the lustre of his family, and extent of his dominions, few kings were equal. But in personal endowments of mind and body, perhaps, he surpassed them all. An embassy waited on the king, at the

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head of which was the archbishop of Cologne, the favourite of Frederic, and his principal minister. They were received with extraordinary honours, and the duke's proposal was accepted. It is also said that an alliance was, at the same time, agreed on between the emperor and Henry. The earl of Leicester only, the grand justiciary, either because he disliked the match, or probably from a conscientious motive, refused all communication with the ambassador, who was the chief abettor of the schism, and then excommunicated by Alexander. After his departure, the altars, on which he or his chaplains had officiated, were overturned by the people. So much was the nation attached to the cause of Alexander^P. — The princess, now an infant, was not conducted to her husband till three years afterwards.

War with the Welsh.

Impatient of further controul, but pretending that the earl of Chepstow had assassinated his nephew, and forgetful of the fealty he had lately sworn to Henry, Rhees ap Gryffyth, king of South Wales, a fourth time drew the sword against his lord, and, by his spirited exertions, soon united into one grand confederacy all the princes of the land. Such unanimity, for many years, had not been seen. The powers of North Wales were commanded by Owen Gwyneth; those of the South by Rhees ap Gryffyth; and under the standard of Owen Cyveliock and the five sons of Madoc ap Meredyth, stood the men of Powis-land. Henry had been apprised of the storm; but well aware how difficult it would be to stem its fury, he had taken time to collect a large army even from the distant provinces of his dominions. With this formidable host, he entered Wales, in the month

of

of July. Hoping that the terror of his approach might break the confederacy, and induce some of the princes to join him, he encamped near Oswestry. But they remained all constant, all intrepid; in numbers little inferior to the king, and by the natural strength of the country decidedly his superiors. The two armies approached. Henry advanced to the river Ciereoc, and fearing some ambuscade, he ordered the woods to be cut down, which covered its banks. His vanguard, in which he had posted the flower of his army, was instantly attacked, and a bloody action ensued. But the English prevailed, and gaining the river, the king passed it, and again encamped at the foot of Berwin, one of the highest mountains in Wales. On the top of this mountain, and on its sides, as a lowering cloud, hung the Welsh army. Henry was soon sensible, how imprudently he had advanced: the enemy would not come to action: but they cut off his provisions, and flying parties harassed his troops whenever they attempted to move. A want of victuals and forage was soon felt. In addition, violent and incessant rains fell for some days, which in torrents poured down into the vale, where the English lay. They were compelled to retire; and, in his retreat, Henry acted a scene of impotent cruelty, which would have disgraced a tyrant. The hostages he had received, at the last submission of the Welsh princes, were still with him: the eyes of these unfortunate youths he now ordered to be put out; and among them were two sons of Rhees ap Gryffyth, and two of Owen Gwyneth.

Made sensible, at last, which experience should have sooner told him, that the Welsh could not be conquered by

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by the mode of attack he had adopted, the English monarch resolved to revert to the plan of operations, which he had before practised with success. This was, to land his troops along the coast, and desolate the country. He marched to Chester, commanding his ships to be collected. But, in the midst of these preparations, suddenly he broke up his camp, and discharged his army, leaving his castles in Wales, and the neighbouring counties, exposed to the fury of an insulting and exasperated enemy. What were his fears, or what his motives, the historians of the age do not tell us; nor can it be at all conjectured, from any circumstances of the times. It should seem, as if he preferred the war of controversy with his primate, to the bold resistance of ap Gryffyth and his hardy allies. But his reputation and interest suffered by the event: for the Welsh princes, separating their forces, marched against the different castles which belonged to the English, and some they demolished, and some they preserved. Wales was again independent ^a.

Henry soon experienced another mortification. Ambitious as he was of his own aggrandisement, and that of his family, his mind had long indulged the pleasing hope, that the united crowns of France and England might possibly descend to his children. His eldest son was married to the princess of France; and Louis was advanced in years, and had no male issue. But the airy dream now vanished. On the twenty-second of August was born Philip, surnamed Augustus, a prince sent by providence to exalt the French name, and to humble even Henry, in his latter days, and the house of Plantagenet. The joy of France, on the evnt, was unbounded.

The

^a Welsh Chron. an. 1165. Neubrig. c. 12. Gerv.

The order of time, and the important contents, permit me to give the substance of a letter, which the bishop of Lisieux, with whom the reader is acquainted, a prelate well versed in the politics of the court of England, wrote to Becket. He, whom the controversy interests, will pardon the abrupt insertion.—“ Men,” says he, “ who pre-
 “ tend to fathom the intention, did once believe that you
 “ were actuated by ambition, and that your object was to
 “ extend your own power, and to vie with majesty: that,
 “ therefore, you had resisted your sovereign’s commands,
 “ hoping that others might be awed by your example. It
 “ was reported, that you had said among your friends,
 “ that his inconsiderate youth was not to be flattered,
 “ but to be vigorously repressed: that you were best ac-
 “ quainted with his dispositions, and that he was conscious
 “ how necessary you were to him. These reflections were
 “ repeated to his majesty; when he angrily observed, that
 “ as his dignity was at stake, he must exert all his power
 “ and address; for that you were not a man to recede
 “ from your purposes.—But every doubt, which was on
 “ our minds, is now dissipated, and the purity of your
 “ motives is become so evident, that honest men are
 “ rejoiced, and your enemies are confounded. Justice
 “ and the liberty of the church you preferred to every
 “ earthly emolument; for had you consented to these new
 “ abuses, not only might you have lived in peace; you
 “ might have reigned with your prince. Yet even in the
 “ cause you supported, you would have proved invincible,
 “ had not they deserted you, whose duty it was to have
 “ remained firm. Their weakness gave courage to your
 “ adversaries.”

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 1165. “that there the king was indulgent, and had not lost all
 “affection for you. He strove to intimidate you into
 “compliance. He could have hindered your escape from
 “England; and remaining there, nor would you have had
 “so much power against him, nor would his enemies have
 “had occasion to revile him.

“Often consider what your cause is; who is your oppo-
 “nent; and who are your protectors. Your cause is
 “manifestly just, since you contend for the liberty of the
 “church, which cannot be attacked without interesting
 “our faith.—But you have an opponent, who causes dif-
 “tant nations to tremble by his policy, his neighbours by
 “his power, and his subjects by his severity: whom prof-
 “perity has rendered so irritable, that a common failure
 “in politeness he deems an insult. By submission, indeed,
 “and patient forbearance, he may, sometimes, be ma-
 “naged; but he will not brook the least constraint, that
 “his own will may seem to be his only guide. So much
 “does he look for praise, as even to be charmed by flat-
 “tery.—This it was that drew your suffragans so basely
 “from you. Rely not, therefore, on them, for having
 “caused the division; they are not instruments to effect a
 “reconciliation.—The inferior clergy, for the most part,
 “love you much; but the fear of banishment withdraws
 “them; and they are contented to sigh, and in secret to
 “express their wishes for your safety.—As to the nobility, it
 “is well known, that they have formed, as it were, a con-
 “spiracy against the church, in all things to oppose her
 “honour and advantage. At their expence, they are
 “persuaded,

“ persuaded she acquires wealth and dignity. When an
 “ occasion, they deem favourable, offers, then appears
 “ their ardour; while they pretend, it is the interest of
 “ the state only, which they contend for. They say; the
 “ king should not govern with less dignity than his prede-
 “ cessors, who were less powerful than he; and every
 “ attempt they made, however contrary to religion and
 “ reason, these men pretend was a part of the royal pre-
 “ rogative. By flattery they prevail on him to engage in
 “ contests, hoping in fact, that his power may be weakened
 “ in the quarrel; and that themselves shall recover their
 “ lost privilege of transgressing the laws with impunity.

“ When you consider the assistance you may draw from
 “ strangers, with me you must allow, that their first offers
 “ are gracious and abundant; but that the warmth of
 “ their friendship soon cools. Great moderation, there-
 “ fore, and abstemiousness, are necessary.—Lose not cou-
 “ rage from the view of a probable continuation of adverse
 “ fortune; nor let a consciousness of the equity of your
 “ cause, give obstinacy to your resolution. What is not
 “ criminal, and really dangerous to religion, that bear
 “ with. When you cannot correct, dissemble for a time.
 “ Things do not always remain in the same state; and
 “ God, as he pleases, turns the hearts of kings. Should
 “ a favourable occasion offer, receive it with open arms:
 “ and if an accommodation be proposed, discuss not its
 “ terms too nicely, lest it generate altercation. Rest on
 “ general conditions; and be satisfied, if nothing be ex-
 “ pressly mentioned, which may affect the liberty of the
 “ church. Look not for triumph in the eyes of men: on

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" the contrary, permit his majesty to enjoy the honour of
 " victory, provided your own conscience give you praise
 " before God.

" As to myself, be persuaded, I will serve you faithfully
 " and as a friend ; for I know that you sacrifice your fortune
 " and your person for us. But it will be necessary that,
 " outwardly I appear your enemy. If thought your friend,
 " I should neither be believed nor be attended to. By
 " counterfeiting I shall serve you more effectually. Do
 " not lose courage. The king is soon to return into Nor-
 " mandy, when your friends will be better able to manage
 " your concerns with him. They say, he is become more
 " tractable, owing to some apprehensions he entertains of the
 " French monarch and of his subjects here. Nor is he in-
 " different to the indignation of the pontiff, whom his
 " conduct has irritated. In England, so disturbed, by your
 " absence, is the state of government, that neither civil
 " concerns, nor those of the church, are duly administered.
 " The whole order of things is confounded. Farewell ;
 " and if you mention the contents of this letter, take care
 " to conceal my name."

The good sense of this epistle, the advice it conveys to the primate, the view it exhibits of the king's dispositions and of the general state of parties, and its uncommon perspicuity of ideas and precision of language, are admirable. The cause of Becket, when thus delineated by one who knew it well, and who was attached to Henry, will cease, I trust, to present those odious features, with which it is generally portrayed. The original, which I have greatly abridged, in every view is an excellent composition.

Nor

Nor can I omit another event.—Certain German heretics were examined before a synod at Oxford, which had been convened for the purpose. They were of the sect of those, who, in the south of France, soon acquired the name of *Albigenses*, and had come into England, about thirty in number, men and women, to disseminate their doctrines. At their head was one Gerard, whom they regarded as their master, a man of some learning; whereas his disciples were illiterate and simple rustics. One profelyte they had made, a female, though they had been some years in the country, when they were apprehended and cast into prison. The king would not release them, nor punish them, unexamined; but convoked a synod. Before it the Germans were brought, and being asked, what their belief was? Gerard, in the name of the rest, answered; “that they were christians, “and venerated the doctrine of the apostles.” They were then examined particularly, on the several articles of faith; when, by their answers it appeared, that they rejected baptism, the eucharist, and marriage. Regarding the person of Christ, their belief was orthodox. Being pressed with texts of scripture, they said, “that they believed as they “were taught; but would not dispute about their faith.” Admonished to repent, they despised the counsel; and when menaced with punishment, they smiled, and replied: “Blessed are they who suffer persecution for the sake of “righteousness, for their’s is the kingdom of heaven.” The bishops, therefore, condemned them as heretics, and delivered them to the king to be punished. He commanded them to be branded on the forehead with a hot iron, to be publicly whipt, and be expelled from the town; and he

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Heretics
punished.

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forbad his subjects to receive them into their houses, or to give them any relief. They submitted to their sentence with wonderful alacrity ; and Gerard received an additional stigma on the chin." Their cloaths being then torn off to the waist, the remaining part of the sentence was cruelly executed. It was winter, and no one giving them the least assistance, they all perished miserably. Our countrywoman, by a timely recantation, escaped the threatened punishment. These, says the historian, were the first factaries, who, since the expulsion of the Britons, had come into England ; and the *pious rigour*, he thinks, would prove a bar to the ingress of others. At that time to become a reformer, demanded the spirit of a hero or of a madman.

The primate appointed legate, writes to the king.

Alexander, soon after his return to Rome, mindful of the champion he had left at Pontigny, appointed him his legate in England, thus investing him with all the powers, which belonged to his immediate representative. Only the diocese of York was exempted from his jurisdiction. The notification of this appointment was immediately sent to the bishop of London, by the primate, and with it letters from himself, addressed to many of his suffragans. The packet, while Gilbert was at the altar, was put into his hands by a stranger. Alarmed at the contents, he wrote to the king, expressing the anxiety of his mind. " But " when the pope commands," says he, " no appeal can " avail ; nor is there any remedy : we must obey. We " are commanded to submit to his legate ; to oblige those " to restitution, who, by your order, have received the " revenues of his clergy, absent with him ; and to collect "

" the

" the peter-pence which is due to his holiness. We throw
 " ourselves at your feet, requesting we may be permitted
 " to obey these orders. But I advise, should the primate's
 " letters be found to contain any thing contrary to the
 " customs of the realm, that your majesty command the
 " bishops instantly to appeal to the pope, or to the legates
 " he shall appoint".

The primate's life in his convent is warmly delineated by his historians. The day he spent in prayer, in the study of the scriptures, and in the religious exercises of the monastic life. With reluctance did he cease from these occupations, and close his eyes to rest. But when the business of the field called the monks to labour, he also went out with them, and he helped to make their hay, and to reap their corn. His health declined much. The study of ecclesiastical polity was a favourite pursuit with him ; and he spent much time in examining the laws and canons of the church¹. In them he had been initiated at Bologna ; but the disputes he was engaged in, now reanimated his ardour. Unfortunately, the research would but confirm his first ideas, and open higher views of the rights and immunitics, for which he had deemed it his duty to contend. There was then no clue to lead to the detection of the spurious canons, which were every where circulated, and every where obeyed ; how then was our primate to escape from the mazy labyrinth? His friend, however, and secretary, John of Salisbury, strongly dissuaded him from the study, aware, from the dispositions and circumstances of his master, of its obvious effect. The primate, roused by reflection, convinced

¹ Ep. 131.^a Ep. 31. Gerv. an. 1166.

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convinced daily more how unjustly he was persecuted, solicited by his friends in exile, elated by the protection of the French king, but more by that of the pontiff, and sensible that the legatine powers were not given to remain idle, began to conclude, as well from character as from conscience, that his own and the church's cause should be more actively supported. He resolved to write to the king.

He wrote an *admonitory* letter, in terms gentle and unassuming, wherein he represents that his duty can no longer permit him to be silent, and exhorts the king to restore to the English church the liberty he had taken from her. The letter was sent by an abbot of the Cistercian order, who returned with a verbal reply, harsh and reproachful^v. — He wrote a second letter, *commonitory* as the first; but more full, scholastic, and pointed. He expresses an earnest desire of seeing the king: he specifies what are his own duties to him, as to his lord, his king, and his son: he tells him that he is a king by the grace of God, to improve his own character for the edification of others, and to reward and punish, by the power he received from the church at his coronation, and by the sword he bears to crush her enemies. The church, he observes, is composed of two orders, the clergy and the people; that to the first belongs the general administration of all ecclesiastical and spiritual concerns, and to the second, which comprises kings, barons, and their officers, civil and secular affairs, to the end that all things may tend to the peace and unity of the church. He repeats it as a certain truth, that kings derive their power from the church; and therefore, when by his customs of

Clarendon

^v Ep. 63. Gerv.

Clarendon he prescribed certain duties to the bishops, that he transgressed the obvious order of things. He puts him in mind of his coronation-oath, whereby he engaged to protect the liberty of the church. He entreats him to reinstate the church of Canterbury in her former condition and dignity; to restore all her possessions, her castles, manors, farms, his own property and that of his friends, all which he had seized and distributed; and to allow him to return to his see, freely and peaceably: "Then," said he, "I am ready to serve you, as my dearest lord and king, with fidelity and attachment, in all things I may be able, saving the honour of God, of the Roman church, and of my own order; otherwise be assured, that you will experience the severity of heaven and its vengeance."^w —The reader will not be surprised, that the monks who bore this letter, were treated with some asperity: but the subject is curious, as it distinctly marks the leading maxims of the church, which then prevailed, and the terms, on which the primate seemed to think, a conciliation only could be effected.

That Henry was abroad at the beginning of this correspondence, does not appear; but we are told that he quitted England towards the end of winter. The queen had been left regent in Maine and Aquitaine, and some of the barons had disobeyed her commands. These he punished. An affair of great moment then called him into Bretagne. —The duke Conan, long harassed by his turbulent nobility, and unable to resist a powerful confederacy formed against him, had recourse to Henry, who, as earl of Nantes,

Henry goes
into France.

already

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already had some interest in the province. Conan had an only daughter, Constantia, heiress to all his possessions. It was proposed that she should marry Geoffry, the king's third son. No proposal could be more alluring ; and Henry instantly marched with the troops he had with him ; laid waste the lands of the rebellious barons ; demolished their castles ; and soon reduced them to sue for peace. The grateful Conan then, not only surrendered his daughter into his hands, but with her the whole dutchy of Bretagne, which he was to administer till Geoffry should be capable of governing, reserving only to himself the earldom of Guingamp. To this the Bretons themselves readily consented ; and Henry, in his son's name, taking possession of the province, received the homage of his new vassals. It was to his own power a vast acquisition, and the Bretons had reason to rejoice in the change. A desolated country, and an unhappy tenantry, soon recovered from the oppression of their lawless barons ; while the strong arm of Henry gave inhabitants to the towns and villages, and culture to the plains. They are the words of the historian *.

News being brought into Europe of the distressed situation of the christians in Palestine, Louis, with the advice of his council, laid a tax on all the effects of his subjects, to be levied for five years, and strongly exhorted Henry to imitate his example. He took his advice, and summoned a meeting of his vassals at Mans. They agreed to the regulation ; and a statute was made, whereby each person, on all his possessions, was to pay twopence in the pound, for the first year, and a penny for the four years ensuing. The regulation

* Neubrig. c. 18. Chron. Norm. Diceto.

regulation affected all orders of men, from the highest prelate and baron, to the lowest peasant. The King first swore to observe the statute, and then the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, and vavours, engaging themselves that all under their power should swear the same. He who failed in the payment, incurred excommunication; but a third part of the penance, due to sinners, would be remitted to him, who faithfully complied. Measures were immediately taken, to extend the same regulation to England. But when the first remittance was to be made to Palestine, the pious monarchs quarrelled about the form of doing it; and their own subjects narrowly escaped the horrors of a destructive war!^r

The primate's last letter had left an impression on the mind of Henry, which public report had strengthened, and he was alarmed lest it might be followed by a sentence of interdict on his territories, and excommunication on himself. He ordered his barons and confidential friends to meet him at Chinon in Touraine; when he earnestly requested their counsel, and complained of Becket, who, (and he said it with tears,) "tore his body and soul from him." "But you are all traitors," exclaimed he, "who will take no pains to free me from the annoyance of that man." — The hasty charge roused the archbishop of Rouen, who gently checked its intemperance. But the artful and politic Arnulph of Lisieux advised, as the only measure which could avert the impending sentence, that the king should interpose an *appeal*, in his own name, to the pope. He assented. And thus, says the historian, while Henry,

Appeals to
Rome.

^r Gerv. Diceto an. 1166, Chron. Norw. i^b.

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The primate pronounces
the sentence.

by his *ancient customs*, wished to suppress the right of appeal, himself, in his own defence, had recourse to it². — The bishops of Seez and Lisieux were instantly dispatched to notify this appeal to the primate: but he, a few days before, had left Pontigny, when they returned to the king.

His apprehensions were well founded. Becket had determined to excommunicate him and his abettors. — If Soissons were some churches of great repute, but one, in particular, dedicated to St. Drausinus, the patron of combatants. To this place many champions, even from distant countries, reported; for it was believed, that the protection of the saint could render them invincible. At the eve of a spiritual combat, the primate, therefore, repaired to Soissons; and there he was, when the king's messengers did not find him at Pontigny. Three nights, in the true spirit of chivalry, did he watch before the altars of the saints, and then returned, full of holy ardour, and armed for battle. It was in the church of Vezelay, not far from his convent, on whitunday, that he meant to pronounce the sentence: but two days before, a messenger from the French king informed him, that Henry was dangerously ill. The awful ceremony, in his regard, it was thought proper to defer.

On the morning of the festival, fame had drawn together a great concourse of people. The archbishop ascended the pulpit, and preached. At the close, a solemn pause ensued; when the torches were extinguished; — the bells tolled; — the crosses were inverted; and he pronounced his anathemas. He excommunicated John of Oxford, for his behaviour

² Joan. Sarisb. ep. 140.

behaviour in the diet of Wurtzbourg, for having associated with schismatics, and for intrusion into the deanry of Salisbury. He excommunicated Richard, the archdeacon of Poitiers, for a similar communion with schismatics, and for machinations against the church. He excommunicated Hugh de St. Clare, Thomas Fitz-Bernard, and Ranulph de Broc, for having seized the possessions of the church of Canterbury, and all those who hereafter should dare to lay their hands on her possessions. He excommunicated Richard de Lucy, and Joceline de Balliol, as the favourers of the king's tyranny, and the contrivers of those heretical pravities, the customs of Clarendon. The customs he then read, and condemned, particularly six of them; he annulled the statute whereby they were enacted, he excommunicated all persons whatsoever who should abet, observe, or enforce them, and he absolved the bishops from the oath they had taken. He named the king; mentioned the letters he had written, and the messengers he had sent to him; and he now publicly called on him to repent, and to make satisfaction for the injuries he had done to the church; or that speedily the sentence, they had heared pronounced, should fall on his head.^a—Thus ended this astonishing scene.

The effects of these censures were, in many circumstances, seriously alarming, as they reached to the concerns of civil life. Not only was an excommunicated man shut out from all the offices and benefits of religion; but he became an alien in society. Intercourse ceased; his friends turned their backs; and to bid him God speed! was to partake of his guilt, and incur his punishment. Therefore

^a Joan. Sarisb. ib. Gerv. Dicet.

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did crowned heads fear it most, unless their power and influence were able to avert its effects. For they also, under this anathema, were not approached by their servants, consulted by their ministers, or obeyed by their subjects. Besides, it was often accompanied by a sentence of deposition; and when this was not the case, still much disorder was the obvious consequence. The disaffected and ill-disposed availed themselves of the circumstance, to practise their designs with impunity, and to foment rebellion. The neighbouring princes also did not neglect the favourable opportunity, whether of retaliation, or of conquest, while the allegiance of the subjects stood thus suspended. We now see why Henry was so much alarmed, as even to recur to the humiliating expedient of an appeal to Rome. His possessions on the French continent were numerous, and the allegiance of the inhabitants could be easily shaken, particularly as Louis, their suzerain or supreme lord, was at hand, to whom many of the great barons were attached, and who would encourage their disaffection, and protect their arms. That he urged the primate, from motives of ambition or revenge, to excommunicate Henry, we may presume; at least we know, from the circumstance of his having informed him of the king's illness, that he was no stranger to his design.

Having gone so far, the primate was not of a temper to relax from his purpose. He returned in haste to Pontigny, and wrote to his suffragans in England, and to Alexander, informing them of what he had done. From the latter he hopes to receive a solemn confirmation of his measures; and he orders the bishops to attend to the execution of the censures

cenfures he had pronounced. “Who doubts,” says he to them, “that the priests of Christ are the fathers and masters of kings, and princes, and of all the faithful^b? ” — So far was the humility of the gospel, and the lowly spirit of its founder, absorbed in the pride of spurious canons and the wild maxims of the age! But they were the maxims of the age, and a man of unaffected probity might then maintain them.

Nor was the king, on his side, idle. He sent orders into England, that all communication, under the severest penalties, cease with the archbishop; that the ports be diligently watched; and that the prelates of his realm immediately renew their appeal to Rome^c. They assembled at London, and with them many abbots, and inferior persons; when it was resolved, in the form of a remonstrance, to appeal to the pontiff, and to signify the same by letter to the primate. The bishops of Exeter and Rochester refused to sign it; and Henry of Winchester excused himself, saying, “that he was summoned by the sovereign bishop, “(meaning his maker,) and that he would not appeal.” — The remonstrance to Alexander is artful and imposing. “It must be within your holiness’s recollection,” say they, “that, now some time ago, you admonished our king to “correct some abuses in his realm, which displeased you. “With respect he received your injunctions, declaring “that, agreeably to the judgment of his church, he was “ready to reform all disorders; for, indeed, orthodox as “he is in faith, *true to his marriage vows*, and strenuous in “the cause of justice, he has no wishes but what tend to

“the

The English
bishops ap-
peal, and ad-
dress the pri-
mate.

^b Ep. 138, 96.

“Gerv. ut sup.

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" the extirpation of scandals, and to the establishment of
 " general concord. He knew that the peace of his realm
 " was sometimes disturbed by the enormous excesses of
 " churchmen. Not to infringe their privileges, he reported
 " these crimes to the bishops, their ecclesiastical judges.
 " They punished them conformably to their canons. But
 " this punishment of degradation, the king deemed inade-
 " quate to the offence, (homicide for instance,) and insuf-
 " ficient for the public security. Hence, between the
 " clergy and his majesty, arose a *holy strife*, from the pure
 " intention of both parties, excusable, we hope, before
 " God: the one contending for the arrangement *divinely*
 " *established*, and the other zealous to repress sin, and to
 " extend the blessings of peace. His majesty was therefore
 " desirous to collect the ancient customs, which had been
 " observed by the clergy, in the reigns of his predecessors,
 " and to make them public, that all contention might
 " cease. This was done. The most ancient among the
 " bishops and the nobles of the land, on oath, produced
 " these customs, and they were published. And this is
 " now, far and near, proclaimed to be the king's cruelty
 " against the church of God; this is called his persecution,
 " and the malevolence of his works. — But, should those
 " customs contain any thing, dangerous to conscience, or
 " dishonourable to the church, he has long ago, in obedi-
 " ence to you, promised to correct it by the judgment of
 " his own church. The peace we wish for, holy father, we
 " had, before this time, obtained, had not the provoca-
 " tion of our lord of Canterbury roused anew the king's
 " anger, which was stilled, and nearly extinguished.

" From

" From him we hoped for concord and the recovery of lost
 " favour. Instead of admonitions and gentle words,
 " whereby he might have overcome, harshly and irreve-
 " rently he has assailed him in furious letters, which breathe
 " nor the benevolence of a father, nor the patience of a
 " bishop. He threatened him with excommunication and
 " his realm with an interdict. Nor did he stop there. The
 " king's special friends, the first noblemen of the realm,
 " his confidential ministers, in whose hands are his own
 " and the public concerns, he has excommunicated, not
 " cited before him, not conscious of any crime, not con-
 " victed of any, not permitted to make their defence,
 " Even lately he suspended the bishop of Salisbury, without
 " any judicial process, or our participation. Of such
 " proceedings what must be the event? Either that the
 " concord between the kingdom and the priesthood shall
 " be broken, and we, with our clergy, be exiled; or,
 " which heaven avert! that we renounce obedience to
 " you, and join the schism. To avoid so great evils, we
 " have appealed to your holiness against any ordinances of
 " the archbishop, which may affect the king, the realm, us,
 " or our churches; and we have named the feast of the
 " Ascension next, for the term to our appeal. Rather we
 " submit to be humbled under your injunctions, whatever
 " they may be, than, from day to day, without any cause,
 " to be tortured by the passion of our haughty primate."

How far the first part of this remonstrance accords with the truth of history, as before related, the reader must be competent to judge. It was little calculated to impose on

the

BOOK II. ^{1660.} the pontiff, who had himself seen, and formally condemned the constitutions of Clarendon: The remainder is all penned in the strong spirit of enmity to the primate. We had not before heared of the suspension of the bishop of Salisbury; but it was for having admitted John of Oxford to the deanry of his church^c.

Their address to the primate is in a similiar style, the substance of which is: That they had hoped, by humility and prudence, he would have repaired the disorders which his sudden retreat had occasioned, and that the news they had heared of his way of life, in retirement, had given them comfort: that the fruits of such behaviour would have been, indeed, salutary: but that now, his late attack on the king had reached their ears, which must for ever banish peace, and generate contention. They desire him to reflect on the end he has in view, and to consider, whether the means he has adopted can lead him to it. They counsel him as their father, not to create new difficulties, but, ceasing from threats, to try the effects of patience and humility. " It would have been better," they tell him, " to have aimed at praise by the poverty, he had voluntarily embraced, than to have incurred the general censure of ingratitude. The world cannot forget, how kind the king was to you, to what glory he raised you from a low condition, and took you so near to his heart, that, from the northern ocean to the Pyrenean Hills, his wide dominions were subject to you. They only were deemed happy, who found favour in your sight. And because earthly honours are liable to fade, he would fix you in

" the

" the immediate concerns of God. His mother dissuaded,
 " the nation loudly objected, the church, as far as might
 " be, sighed and groaned, but he left no means untried to
 " effect your exaltation, hoping that his reign would
 " become more prosperous, and that by your aid and
 " counsel nothing would disturb his repose. Have some
 " concern then for your own fame, and by submission and
 " kindness strive to conquer."

If their admonitions have no effect, they hope, that the interest of the church and of the pontiff may move him. For what ; if, provoked by him, the king, whom so many nations obey, should withdraw his obedience ? He has been solicited, they say, by gifts and promises ; but has stood firm on the rock, spurning, with a great soul, all that the world could offer. They fear that resentment may alone be able to overcome him ; and should he be the occasion, torrents must ever flow from his eycs. But his wife counsellors, perhaps, exhort him to use his power against the king and his subjects. That power, they observe, is formidable to obstinate sinners, which his majesty, they pronounce, is not, though he may have often fallen. He consults, they say, the good of his people, and the peace of the church ; and therefore he requires, that the respect which was shewn to his predecessors be shewn to himself ; that he had promised to refer the matter in litigation to the judgment of his church ; and for what then had he merited ecclesiastical censures ? They intreat, that he will proceed with caution, and with paternal gentleness ; they mention, with indignation, the suspension of the bishop of Salisbury ; and they announce their appeal to Rome¹.

¹ Apud Hoved. ep. 126.

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1166.

The primate
answers.

The primate answered in a long and laboured, but a full and justificatory, address, which to give entire is unnecessary, and to abridge is difficult.—Unexpectedly, he says, he had received their epistle, which, he cannot persuade himself, was written with their general approbation: that it contained more of satire than of consolation; and, he thinks, was dictated rather by command, than suggested by views of charity. He reproaches them with their little zeal for the liberty of the church, and for their own real interest. They turned their backs in the day of battle, and he had waited till God perhaps might have inspired them with better courage: may he take the veil from their hearts, that they may know their duty! If, since the day of his promotion, he had injured any one of them, let him speak: he would make him ample reparation. But if not; why had they thus deserted him? He exhorts them to repent, to rejoin the banners of the church, and with him stoutly to oppose her enemies.—He justifies his flight from England, which, after the injustice and violence their own eyes had beheld at Northampton, was become necessary, in order to secure his own life, and to pursue his appeal; had not his retreat been *sudden*, as they call it, it would have been impeded. “But if it *occasioned any disorders*,” he remarks, “~~his~~ the blame, who caused it. I presented myself in the court of his holiness; I laid before him the injuries which myself and the church had suffered; I explained the motive of my appeal, and of my journey: but no one appeared to answer me, or to urge any thing against me. Soon, however, my servants were forbidden to obey me in their temporal concerns, or to send

“ me

“ me any supplies, without an order from the king,
 “ by the sentence, seems, of my lords of York and
 “ London. Without judgment pronounced against
 “ me, without cause, to the prejudice of my ap-
 “ peal, the church of Canterbury, my friends, my-
 “ self, were despoiled ; clergy, laics, men with their
 “ wives, women with their children, were indiscri-
 “ minately proscribed. The effects of the church were
 “ confiscated to the royal treasury : one part of the money
 “ was applied to the king’s use, and the other to yours, if
 “ I have heared rightly, my brother of London, and to
 “ that of your church. If so, I order you to restore it
 “ within forty days. On what grounds are these usurpa-
 “ tions justified ? Is it, perhaps, under the pretext of an
 “ appeal ? See to what you expose yourselves and your
 “ churches, if they who invade their rights be permitted
 “ thus to cover their enormities.” — He advises them to
 take care how they lead others into error, by allowing a
 prerogative to princes, which is not theirs, and by con-
 founding the distinct rights of church and state : and he
 admonishes them not to hold truth from the king, lest he
 perish in his evil doings. He that has authority to dissem-
 ble, he says, may do it ; for his part, he will not incur the
 guilt.

“ You declare, that, at my promotion, the nation *loudly*
 “ *objected*, and that the *church groaned*. And do you know
 “ then what should be the truthful character of the words
 “ of a priest ? Good God ! surely the meanest peasant
 “ would blush to say it. Ask your own consciences ; recol-
 “ lect the manner of my election, the consent of all whom

BOOK II.

116.

“ it regarded, the assent of the king signified by his son
 “ and by his messengers, and of the prince himself with
 “ all the nobles of the realm. If any one of them contradi-
 “ cted it, if he opposed it in any thing, let him speak
 “ who knows it, who is conscious of it. If any particular
 “ man, indeed, was in his own heart troubled, let him
 “ not therefore say, that an injury was done to the king-
 “ dom and to the church. As to yourselves: consider the
 “ letters which, with the king, you all sent to the pope,
 “ earnestly requesting the *pallium* (the archiepiscopal man-
 “ tle) for me, which was granted. This is the truth.”—
 “ His majesty,” you say, “ raised me to eminence *from a*
 “ *low condition*. Indeed, I did not spring from royal an-
 “ cestors: but I would rather be he, whom greatness of
 “ soul shall ennoble, than who degenerates from the blood
 “ of his fathers. Say I was born in a poor cottage: yet,
 “ by the kindness of heaven, in my low condition, before
 “ I entered into the king’s service, I lived among my
 “ neighbours of every description, as you well know, in
 “ sufficient affluence and with honour. David was but a
 “ shepherd’s boy, and Peter, called from his nets, was
 “ raised to the primacy in the church of Christ. By his
 “ blood he acquired a crown in heaven, and his name is
 “ glorious upon earth.’ We are the successors of Peter,
 “ and not of Cesar. With what views the king sought my
 “ promotion, God best knows. His own heart can tell
 “ him: but what his duties are, I, as my office directs me,
 “ will lay before him, with some severity, but more sin-
 “ cerely than they, who flatter him with lies. The blows
 “ of a friend are preferable to the treacherous kisses of an
 “ enemy.

“ enemy. You charge me with ingratitude. It is the motive which constitutes the crime. I know what I owe to the king, as his vassal and his subject; and if I have endeavoured to turn him from his evil ways, I have rather merited his thanks, than deserved to be called ungrateful. At all events, I more fear to be ungrateful to him, who is the master of us all, and who threatens those with his indignation, who misuse the powers with which he has entrusted them.”

As to their insinuation, that his conduct might impel the king to join the schism: he trusts, that no temporal motive can draw him from his allegiance to the church; that in him it would be more criminal, as it would involve many in his guilt. The thought should be entertained by no one, much less by a bishop: let themselves be aware therefore lest their words infuse poison into others, and their own designs be manifested.—The church, they need not fear, will gain strength from oppression: they may tremble, who seek her ruin.—In the suspension of the bishop of Salisbury, no judicial process was requisite, because his crime was notorious. Such is the established order. He admitted John of Oxford to the deanery of his church, after a solemn prohibition from himself and the pope.

Their appeal, he then tells them, is nugatory, because, in their own regard, they have no cause to fear; but if they think thereby to suspend his lawful authority, should an occasion be given, such as that he just mentioned, it must be deemed subversive of all canonical right. “ God forbid,” says he, “ that I should attempt any thing inordinate against my king or his kingdom, against you and your churches.”

—If

—If it be in the king's name they appealed ; what interest can they have to impede the course of justice, when the liberty of the church is at stake, and the vindication of its rights against rapine and oppression ? He remarks, how irregular all their proceedings had been, when, after their mutual appeal at Northampton, which should have suspended every prosecution, himself and his friends had been despoiled, and lately an edict published denouncing prison or mutilation against all, who should entertain his messengers, or receive his instructions. Some of them, he says, he has reason to suspect, if not all : they are not therefore qualified to judge between him and the king.

He concludes : “ May my king listen to the request of his servant, to the counsel of his bishop, to the exhortation of his father, that God may bless him, and prolong his days, and the years of his children unto many ages ! Under him, as a king most christian, may the church enjoy peace and liberty : may the Roman see exercise that right within his realm, which belongs to her, and she has in other kingdoms ! To the church of Canterbury and to me let him restore our privileges, with peace and security, and the possessions we have lost. Then, under him, I will serve my God without fear ; and as he wills, so he shall use my services, saving the honour of God, and of the Roman church, and of my order. Those are the royal dignities, and the excellent laws, for which a christian king should petition, and which he should observe.—And to you, my brethren, I have not written to bring shame to any of you ; but that, convinced by my arguments, you may be willing and be able, with greater force

“ force and courage, to perform your duties. The effect
 “ will bring a speedier peace to me, and ampler liberty to
 “ the church. Pray heaven, for me, that, in this tribula-
 “ tion, my faith may not be shaken. Fare ye well in the
 “ Lord^s!”

BOOK II.
 1160.

Viewing the bishop of London, as the real author of the address from his suffragans, to which he had just replied, Becket, in the warmth of resentment, wrote to him. The letter is in substance, the same as that I have given, only more pointed, more severe, and more animated. Foliot he considered as his declared enemy, and as the engine which gave motion to the whole series of oppression: as such he addresses him.—Astonishing, indeed, he says, it is, that a man of his erudition and calling, should be such an enemy to truth and justice, as to wish, by every means, to overthrow the church: that the attempt proved the derangement of his mind, for it resembled a man who should tie a sting round a huge mountain with intent to pull it down. “ You may think,” he observes, “ that anger or dislike dictated this severe reflection. By no means: your own letter suggested it.” Which, he tells him, is of the scorpion-make, with a sting in the tail, professing, at first, great submission and obedience, and then appealing that he may not obey. And yet, this very ~~ob~~stacle to obedience, he can unblushingly term a *remedy*! “ The repulses, you have twice experienced in that quarter, (Rome,) might, I think, have checked this forwardness, when you tried in vain the force of entreaties, of presents, of threats, and of promises. But a third attempt may perhaps be

“ more

Written also to
 Foliot.

BOOK II.

1166.

“ more successful, for which you have allowed yourself
“ almost twelve months.”

“ As to the king’s favours,” he says, “ which you have
“ set before my eyes in a large heap, it was a useless labour.
“ For I call God to witness, that, under the sun there is
“ nothing so dear to me as his favour and well being; pro-
“ vided the concerns of religion and the church be unin-
“ paired. Without this his reign cannot be happy or secure.
“ All then you have said of his royal bounty to me, I am
“ ready to allow: I know, indeed, that his kindness has
“ been greater, than even you have commemorated. But
“ for this was I to sacrifice the liberty of the church?
“ Much less for my own reputation, which you are pleased
“ to observe, has suffered by the imputation of ingrati-
“ tude. Should an angel from heaven advise dissimulation
“ to me, I would tell him to begone; that he knew not
“ the things of God.” — If the king’s mother dissuaded
his promotion, he can only say, that it was not publicly
known. But there might, he significantly remarks, be
some ecclesiastical persons, who, disappointed in their
hopes, did repine on the occasion; and who knows, but
they may be the authors and advisers of the present un-
happy dissensions?

“ But you very confidently assert, that the king has ever
“ been disposed to make satisfaction: then answer to a few
“ questions;” and he details the sufferings of his friends,
(many of whom were even ignorant of the controversy,) of
his family, of himself, and of the church of Canterbury.
“ And not to repair these evils, and daily to add to them,
“ shall it be called satisfaction? But perhaps to comply
“ with

“ with the desires of the malevolent is what you term satisfaction.” He writes, that the king would abide by the judgment of his realm; as if, he says, the concerns of the church were amenable to that tribunal. “ My brother; rather use your interest in persuading him to preserve the peace of the church, not to covet those things which do not appertain to his administration, to honour the priests of God, and not to mind who they are, but whose servants they are. This would be better for you both.”

Mentioning the suspension of the bishop of Salisbury, he observes: “ But at this,” you say, “ you are alarmed. What? does the fire in your neighbour’s house make you tremble! If so, be alarmed to some purpose for the evil you have done. And then intimate to the king, that God has established two distinct powers upon earth, one spiritual, the other temporal; and that the rights of neither can be infringed, without opposing the order of heaven.—On another occasion, recommend to him the behaviour of the emperor Constantine to his bishops, which history has recorded, and which merits to be imitated.”—He concludes, by seriously entreating him and the other bishops, not to permit schisms to divide them, or secret malice to cloud their minds, but to aim to acquire one heart and one soul in the lord. “ Nor let us forget that tremendous judge, before whose tribunal, the fear of earthly power and all reliance on it then removed, truth alone shall plead our cause^b. ”

^b Ep. 103.

BOOK II.

1166.

To this spirited and sarcastic address, which shews that neither the austeries of Pontigny, nor its heavenly contemplations, had unedged the primate's resentment, Gilbert is said to have replied. The reply lay, for centuries, enveloped in its own dust; but it was discovered, and on it has been built a life of Becketⁱ, contradicted by the notorious facts of history, by the declarations of his suffragans, in some instances, and by other witnesses, in all, and by the well-known character of the man. I cannot admit it here; but it shall have its place.*

Is driven
from Pen-
tigny.

The king, in the mean time, had sent an embassy to Rome, not so much with a view of prosecuting the appeal he had announced at Chinon, as to sooth the pontiff, to bribe the cardinals, and to procure a deputation of two legates from his holiness, on terms most favourable to himself. At the head of this embassy, to the surprise of all men, was John of Oxford, now dean of Salisbury, then excommunicated, denounced as a schismatic at Rome, and the notorious enemy of Alexander and the primate. The event, however, will shew, how wise was the choice of Henry. — Seeing with pain the undisturbed life which his enemy was permitted to lead at Pontigny, in the arms of the Cistercian order, and protected by Louis, Henry sent a letter to the general chapter at Citeaux, forbidding them to harbour him any longer, if they valued the lands and houses they possessed in his territories. The primate generously withdrew. But the French monarch dispatched a nobleman, with three hundred men, to escort him: “ Let him come to me,” said he, “ and experience the benevolence

ⁱ Hist. of Hen. II.

* See Appendix ii.

“ benevolence of my people ;” requesting, at the same time, he would chuse the place of his residence. He chose Sens, or rather, the convent of St. Columba near its walls, which he entered, and was received with joy, the bishop of the city and its people welcoming his arrival. It was the month of November⁴.—This further instance of vindictive prosecution, still more exalted the fame of the sufferer, and, as the appeal was pending, it was deemed a glaring violation of established equity. The measure was barbarous and impolitic.

Triumphant in his embassy, John of Oxford now returned from Rome. He proclaimed, as he passed the towns, that two legates would soon follow, to give glory to Henry, and to humble his haughty adversary. In truth, the gold of his master he had largely distributed with both hands, and but few of the sacred college had refused it¹. They espoused his cause.—Admitted to the presence of the pope, he first swore, that, ‘when he was at Wurtzburg, in the diet of the empire, he had done nothing against the faith of the church, or the honour and interest of his holiness. He then presented a letter from the king. It spoke the bearer’s praises, and entreated that all credit should be given to his word. “ In my master’s name then,” said the ambassador, “ I submit the controversy concerning the customs of England, which has so long subsisted between him and the primate, to the judgment of your holiness : confirm them, or annul them, as it shall seem best ; and prescribe the terms of peace.” The extraordinary declaration was followed by another oath ; when he prayed that

John of Ox.
ford's embaf-
fy.

⁴ Gerv. Iloved. Vita c. 17, 18, 19.

¹ Ep. 54. ap. Baron.

BOOK II.

1166.

legates might be sent, with full powers, to hear the appeals, and terminate all disputes. "The difference," he then said, "between the king and our archbishop, might, I think, be accommodated, were there an honest man to mediate. To the utmost I will exert my poor abilities." The insidious offer was believed. "And now," concluded he, "the deanery of Salisbury, for which I have so much suffered, I resign to your holiness." Alexander, naturally sincere and unsuspicious, was deceived by these imposing professions, accompanied, probably, by the acclamations of the cardinals, and he granted all he asked. He absolved him from the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the primate, he reinstated him in the deanery of Salisbury, and he promised that legates should be sent, naming one, in particular, whom Henry had requested. As a final mark of favour, he presented him with a ring, and dismissed him^m.—He brought letters, confirming, in part, his boasting assertions, which suspended the powers of the archbishop, till the whole cause, as it regarded himself and the king, and the appeal of the bishops, should be examined, and canonically decided by the legatesⁿ.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the primate and his friends, when this humiliating news reached them. He wrote letters, expressive of strong indignation, censuring the weak pliancy of the pontiff, and the venality of the sacred college. "If the reports be true," wrote Becket to a friend, "he has not only choked and strangled me; but himself, all ecclesiastics, and the two churches of France and England." Louis was not less irritated, and

hc

^m Joan. Sarib. ep. 97, 98, 163. apud Baron. ⁿ Ep. 157, 164, 165, 166.

he declared that the legates should not enter his kingdom. BOOK II,
1166.
 “ Had he sent them,” said he, “ to take the crown
 “ from my head, I should not have been more troubled ; ”
 alluding to the suspension of Becket’s legatine powers, and
 his subjection to the legate’s. — Henry, and his courtiers,
 on the other hand, were not less elated. “ I have the pope.
 “ and all the cardinals in my purse ; ” said he, “ nor need
 “ you fear any of their threats ; ” and he then told them,
 from his ambassador, what cardinals had taken money, and
 by what means, they had been bribed. His chief design,
 it seems, was, to gain time, thinking that Alexander might
 die, in which case, he would acknowledge no successor, who
 should not be favourable to his views : he also hoped to pro-
 cure the deposition of the archbishop. If he empowered
 John of Oxford to submit the customs of Clarendon to the
 judgment of the pope, it was, indeed, an extraordinary
 measure, for which the blind admirers of Henry must
 account. To me the whole transaction is mean and un-
 princely.—With regard to Alexander; he was undoubt-
 edly imposed on. His intentions were upright, and he
 hoped, by the concessions he made, to conciliate all parties,
 and to procure peace to the church of England. Of all,
 whom the action concerned, he was the freest from blame,
 and even the king’s agent could but say he had, by his arts,
 deceived him. He pretended not that he had offered him
 gold ; yet at the time, his exigences were great, and his
 alarms were greater. Frederic Barbarossa, with his anti-
 pope, approached towards the gates of Rome.

• Ep. 164, 165. [†] Ep. 179.

BOOK II.

1167.

Affairs of Italy
and Rome.

Since the month of November, the emperor, with a large army, had been returned into Lombardy. To break the confederacy of Verona, or, at all events, to desolate their territories, and to seat Pascal in the chair of St. Peter, was his principal design. His minister, the archbishop of Cologne, he detached before him into the neighbourhood of Rome, while himself, with the rest of his troops, ravaged the plains of Bergamo, and destroyed many castles of the Brescians. He then followed; but Rinaldo had made good use of his German soldiers, and of the treasures he carried with him. To the first the towns had submitted; and Rome, it seemed, would not long withstand the powerful influence of his gold. The venal people took money from both parties, and sufficiently declared that they should have their fealty who would reward it best. Alexander was strongly patronized by some noble families. The emperor was on his march, blasting, like the breath of pestilence, the productions of the earth, and exacting from the people contributions and hostages. He halted long in Romania, and then laid siege to Ancona, which belonged to the emperor of the east. The garrison made a stout resistance: and after three weeks he retired, under the specious disguise of a feigned capitulation. Apulia, he meant, should next feel the terror of his arms; and it seemed, as if his intention was to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom of Naples. Long, we know, he had meditated war against the new throne, which the children of the Norman Tancred had erected there. But having advanced to the Tronto, he suddenly turned northward, solicited by Pascal, whose interest for a time he had neglected

neglected, and, with his whole army, appeared within sight of Rome¹.

BOOK II.
1167.

Alexander, in the mean time, had resisted the attacks of Rinaldo of Cologne, and opposed his gold by greater largesses to the people. He also repaired the battered walls, strengthened the towers, armed the citizens, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But Frederic lost no time. He assaulted the castle of St. Angelo, which the family of the pontiff defended, and the next day, with all his machines, and the flower of his troops, opened his attack on the church of St. Peter. It was well fortified, and well manned. Vain, for a whole week, were the efforts of the assailants. Their *balista* had thrown darts, their *petrariae* stones, their rams had battered, and their moveable towers had assaulted. On the eighth day, the Germans set fire to a church contiguous to that of St. Peter. The flames raged, and threatened universal destruction, when the besieged capitulated. On Sunday, which was the following day, Pascal, in great pomp, entered the church, where he celebrated mass, and put a golden wreath round the brows of Frederic, the emblem of his patrician dignity. But on Tuesday, he was crowned as emperor, and with him Beatrix, his august consort. It was now his wish rather by address and treaty, than by any further efforts of force, to induce the Romans to adopt his measures. His ministers held conferences with the nobles, and he sent a deputation to the cardinals, proposing that both the popes resign the pontificate, and that a new one be chosen; adding that, there was no other method of restoring peace, and that himself, were

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were the terms accepted, would no more interfere in the election of the Roman bishops. The proposal in general pleased ; but the dignitaries of the church peremptorily rejected it ; and Alexander, quitting the Lateran palace, where, till now, he had resided, was received by his noble friends into the towers they had fortified, in the heart of the city.

Now did two galleys secretly come up the Tiber, sent by the young king of Sicily, who the year before had succeeded to his father, bringing treasure to Alexander, and commissioned to rescue him from his perilous station. With tears he thanked his noble benefactor ; accepted the money ; but refused to quit the city. The galleys returned ; and Alexander, the same day, distributed his new wealth, part to the leaders of his party, trusting that it would bind them more firmly to his interest, and part to the guards at the several gates. The emperor still enlarged his offers, and gained on the multitude. He promised to confirm the senate, and to allow them many immunities through all his dominions ; in return, only asking for the rights of their sovereign for himself, and admission for his friend to the chair of St. Peter. In despair of longer success, Alexander was prevailed on to retire ; and in a pilgrim's habit he escaped, accompanied by some cardinals, and after various journeys by sea and land, entered the city of Beneventum. The imperial ministers then crossed the Tiber, and received, in the name of Frederic, the solemn homage of the Roman people. All did not submit ; and many, while they consented to receive Pascal within the walls, refused to withdraw their obedience from Alexander.

The visitation of heaven now came, says the historian. Great rains fell, succeeded by violent heats, and, in a few days, a pestilential fever attacked the imperial army. It was the beginning of the month of August. So furiously did the distemper rage, that, within seven days, a great part of the army perished, and with them many princes, prelates, and nobles, who attended the expedition. Frederic retired, leaving the sick behind; but the contagion pursued him: more than two thousand died on the march, and the survivors, for many months, remained wan and feeble. Through many difficulties, for the Lombards opposed his return, himself arrived in Pavia^r. It is related, that the bones of the German nobility, dried by boiling, were carried back to their own country^s.

No sooner had Frederic, in the preceding winter, begun his march towards Rome, than the Lombard cities, whom new oppressions daily irritated, entered into a more extensive confederacy. The Milanese were invited to join them; who, though dispersed in four villages and in hovels round their late city, had not, even in this state, been permitted to breathe unmolested. They acceded to the proposal; when a general meeting took place, and the confederates bound themselves by oath, to defend one another against the oppression of the emperor and his ministers. It was also agreed, that, on a certain day, they should reconduct the Milanese into their deserted city, and remain with them, till they were in a condition to protect themselves. On the appointed day, the cities which were charged with this commission, sent out their troops. They found the

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1167.

^r A.R. Alex. Chron. Lauden. an. 1167.

^s Chron. Ursperg.

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Milanese, in anxious expectation, waiting their arrival, and at their head they entered the ruins of the fallen city. All hands, in a moment, were employed. They cleared away the rubbish, opened the ditches, repaired the walls and demolished towers ; and, in a short time, houses were made habitable, and its rising bastions lowered defiance. The confederates then retired ; but they were ordered to attack some places, devoted to the emperor, and particularly the castle of Trezzo deemed almost impregnable, where a vast treasure was kept. The castle was taken, however, and burned to the ground.

Thus were things situated, when Frederic returned from Rome. To recruit his enfeebled army, he called on the few cities, which remained in his obedience, to send in their forces, and he assembled a diet of his friends. In great irritation, he expressed his anger ; by name summoned the confederated cities ; ordered their hostages to be hanged ; pronounced the sentence of *ban*, that is, of proscription against them ; and throwing his glove into the air, defied them to arms. Collecting then what troops he could, he laid waste the lands of the allies ; but they met him in the field, opposed his devastations, and, near Placentia, offered him battle. He retreated precipitately, and shut himself up within the walls of Pavia^t.

Legates arrive
in France.

Though the legates, for whom Henry had petitioned, had left Rome as early as the month of January, they did not arrive in Normandy before the end of summer. They were two cardinals, William of Pavia, who has been already mentioned, and Otho of St. Nicholas. The ample powers,

^t Chron. Lauden. ibid.

powers, with which, at the instigation of John of Oxford, they had been first entrusted, were, before their arrival, considerably abridged. To this, the letters of the primate and his friends, and the anger of the French monarch, which I related, had moved Alexander. He therefore commanded his ambassadors to effect a reconciliation, if possible, between Henry and the archbishop, and, till that were done, not to touch the other matters in debate. The boastings of John of Oxford, gave great pain to the honest pontiff. He wrote to the primate, earnestly begging, that he would dispose his mind for concord, and not weigh too nicely the terms on which it should be proposed. He tells him to trust to the legates, and to entertain no doubts of William of Pavia^u.—He wrote to the kings. To Henry he recommends his legates, as the true representatives of himself, vested with full powers, and he begs he will acquiesce in the instructions they have received from him.—To Louis he speaks in high terms of the primate, and thanks him for the great kindness he had shewn him in his exile: he likewise requests, that he will use his good offices to promote the reconciliation, which he so ardently desired: “But should our efforts fail,” he adds, “might it be agreeable to you, and not offensive to the dignitaries of your realm, I should be happy to appoint the archbishop my legate in the kingdom of France. Let this be secret.”

Much was the primate’s mind disaffected to William of Pavia. He deemed him his enemy, and he had reasons for the suspicion. Henry, who had known him, when he

^u L. ii. ep. 1, 23.^v Ep. 2, 43.

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was before in France, had particularly requested that he should be one of the legates; and it was now confidently reported, that, could he procure the archbishop's deposition, the see of Canterbury had been promised to him by the king. On his arrival in the south of France, he wrote to Becket, saying that, from motives of sound policy he had hitherto disguised his good will towards him; that he came to terminate the points of litigation between him and his master; and that he advised him to avoid discussions, and only to aim at concord. Becket prepared a reply, pointed and bitter; but, at the representation of his secretary, he did not send it, and wrote another in terms more gentle and respectful. With Otho he was better satisfied^w.

The legates, being come into Normandy, waited on the king. They found him at Caen, sullen, irritated, impetuous. He had lately been at war with Louis; and the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, not long before, for reasons I will explain, had threatened to invade England. Becket, he said, was the author of all the evils; it was he who had animated the princes against him—They presented letters from his holiness, which he read with attention, and then observed, that they agreed little with some instructions, which, he knew, the primate had, since their departure, received from Rome. “The pontiff,” said he, “has been deceived about the customs of my realm: if, in my time, any have been introduced, adverse to the laws of the church, he may annul them.” He was persuaded, however, to permit them to treat with the archbishop; and they sent messengers to him, appointing a day of conference^x.

But,

^w Ep. 9, 10, 11, 18.^x Gervas. an. 1167, ep. 28.

But, on no side, were the tempers properly disposed to concord.

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1167.

Conferences
of Gisors and
Argentan.

On the eighteenth of November, they met near Gisors. With the legates came the archbishop of Rouen only, for the prelates and abbots who had been ordered from England, were not allowed to attend. Becket was accompanied by some of his friends. — The legates opened the conference. They spoke of the pope's kindness, of his attention to the primate, of the fatigues of their own journey, and of the perils they had undergone: they represented the calamitous state of the church, the miseries of the times, the power of the king, his attachment to the Roman see, and the favours and honours he had heaped on the archbishop: but they also enumerated the king's complaints against him, and particularly that of his having been the instigator of the late hostilities. “ And by what means then,” said they to the primate, “ shall his anger be appeased? We recommend “ moderation and humility.” — “ I am sensible,” replied the primate, after some pause, “ of the pope's goodness to “ me, and of your's. The king I have not injured; but he “ has injured the church of Canterbury, and me. He “ accuses me of having instigated the princes against him. “ The king of France knows that it is not true. Whilst I “ have spiritual arms at my disposal, I shall not be so incon-“ sistent as to recur to others. You speak of moderation “ and humility. I am ever ready to shew the most obse-“ quious submission to my king, saving the honour of God, “ the liberty of the church, and my own rights. Will you “ add to or take away from, these conditions?” — “ These “ are general declarations,” observed William of Pavia;

“ let

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" let us come to particulars. You are not a better man than your predecessors. Will you promise the king, before us, to observe all the *customs*, which, in their days, his ancestors enjoyed, and thus recover your fee and your master's favour?" — He answered: " No king ever exacted that promise from any of my predecessors; nor will I ever engage to obey *customs*, which are manifestly adverse to the liberty of the church, to the privileges of the holy see, and to the law of God. In your hearing, I was released from them at Sens. You likewise heared the solemn declaration of his holiness, that, sooner than submit to such abuses, the pastor of the flock should present his throat to the executioner. Again you shall hear them." — They were read. — " And now," continued Becket, " what is your opinion? Can the priest who values his order and his salvation, subscribe to them, or even connive at their observance? I did homage to the king, *saving my order*, and under that réserve, will I bear true fealty to him." — The cardinal insisted, that it would be better to give way in all things, than thus expose the church to perpetual vexation; and he used many arguments to induce him to compliance. " The example," replied Becket, " would be pernicious, and draw after it the ruin of disciplinary and of ecclesiastical liberty. I cannot comply." — Would he abide by their judgment, they then asked, in his general dispute with the king? If he declined it, the temper of his mind would be evident, and the king would be justified. — Determined not to trust his cause to the decision of William of Pavia, he answered with caution; That were he and his friends restored

restored to their possessions, which had been violently seized, they would submit to any judges, whom his holiness might appoint ; but were an expensive suit to be incurred, it must be evident, in his present indigence, that he could not support it.—In the cause of the appeal, they finally proposed, would he accept their judgment ? — “ On this head,” he replied, “ I have received no commands from Rome, nor “ can I defray the expences which such a process must “ necessarily entail on me.”—The conference ended.

Becket, in the relation he gives to the pope, says, that he acted with all possible caution ; but that, knowing the influence the king had gained, and the dispositions of one, at least, of the legates, common prudence forbade him to risk a cause of such importance in their hands. Should the address, the eloquence, the authority, he observes, of William of Pavia, but once be allowed to co-operate with the power and untractable spirit of Henry, his holiness, as well as himself, must expect an attack, from which they would not be easily extricated.—The next day, the legates saw the king of France, who assured them on oath, that the primate had ever advised him to cultivate a good understanding with the English monarch².

From Gisors they proceeded to Argentan, where Henry was. He met them, with great affability, on the road, and conducted them to their lodgings. Early, after mass, the next morning, they were admitted to audience, where many prelates and abbots were present. What passed, is not known ; but, in about two hours, they came out, and the king walked with the legates to an outer door : “ May
“ my

Ep. 28, 30.

Gerv. ut sup.

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" my eyes never look on another cardinal ! " said he aloud, as he turned from [them. They retired precipitately, and the bishops returned with the king to his chamber. It was almost evening before the council broke up, when the bishops, seemingly in much agitation, waited on the legates.—The next day, the bishops were again a long time with the king, and many secret messages passed between him and the legates: but, on the following morning, by break of day, he went out with his dogs and hawks, purposely, it was thought, to be absent. The bishops then met, and, after some consultation, adjourned to the church, where they requested the attendance of the legates. The legates took their seats between the archbishops of Rouen and York. The bishops of London, Salisbury, Chichester, and Worcester, were there, with two French prelates, many abbots, and a great concourse of laity^a. Gilbert of London addressed the legates.

" Understanding, that you came with full powers to terminate the dispute between our lord the king, and the primate of Canterbury, as also to hear our appeal, we have waited on you prepared to answer or to accuse; and we will abide by your sentence. The king makes the same offer; he will adhere to your judgment, whatever it may be. If then the instructions of the pope are not executed, neither we, nor you, it seems, are in fault. The blame must fall where it should. But the primate is precipitate and headstrong; we therefore again renew our appeal, and we mean it should include all England.— This is the quarrel between the king and him. The king demands

“ demands from him forty thousand marks of silver, a sum
 “ he received when chancellor. He replies, that he was
 “ discharged from this debt at his promotion, as if it had
 “ the effect of baptismal water, which remits sin.—We
 “ appealed to Rome, because we were oppressed by his
 “ power, and lest, had we submitted to his sentence, the
 “ king should have been induced to join the schism.”—
 The appeal was accepted, which extended to November in
 the following year, and the parties dispatched messengers
 to Rome and to the primate^b. Thus were all proceedings
 again suspended.

The legates preparing to depart, had private conferences with the king, from which it appears that his mind was strangely agitated, and that he had involved himself in difficulties, out of which, neither address nor violence could draw him. He told cardinal Otho, that he would permit Becket to return peaceably to his see; and as to the customs, if he would not be satisfied with the opinion of any hundred men in his dominions, or of the bishops, to whom he was ready to refer the question, he would then leave it to the pope, with this only reserve, that his children should not be disinherited: “ For in my own life-time,” he added, “ I can readily permit his holiness to reject what statutes “ he pleases.” He confirmed all this with many and extraordinary oaths; and, as they took leave, he said: “ I beg “ you will acquaint his holiness with my submission and “ the equity of my cause; and intercede with him to free “ me, at all events, from the primate.” He wept, and so seemed William of Pavia: but his colleague, with

^b Ep. 6.

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some difficulty, abstained from laughing^c. The legates then wrote to the primate, informing him of the appeal, and forbidding him, in the pope's name, to pronounce any censures on the kingdom of England^d. It was the middle of December, when they departed towards Italy.

Seldom had a more solemn farce been exhibited. Henry had exerted every nerve, in the embassy of John of Oxford, to procure legates devoted to his interest; and the pope, deceived by the protestations of the envoy, had delegated to them such powers, as could answer every wish of the king. But these powers, on the representations I have mentioned, were either recalled, or he marked out another line of conduct to his legates. The discovery of this change it was, which so much irritated the king, in his first interview at Argentan. William of Pavia, notwithstanding, was well-disposed to favour the monarch, and to go all lengths in his service; only he would not sacrifice his master, or rather, he would have been most willing, by serving two masters, to have conciliated the favour of both. Henry was no match for these Italian politicians; yet unwarily, or forced by the circumstances of the times, he had laid himself at their mercy. He threatened, at a distance, the court of Rome, as he did the primate: but he feared, either from conscience or other motives, to relinquish the communion of Alexander, and how to free himself from Becket he knew not. His bishops, though they went with him in opposing the primate, would, that moment, have turned their backs, had he joined the schism. The reiteration of appeals may seem futile and inefficient; but it *was*, in truth,

truth, the only means whereby the dreadful powers of excommunication could be suspended. Becket, throughout, was the only firm and consistent character. He never deviated from what seemed to him the line of rectitude, and he might have smiled, had his situation been attended with ease, at the perplexities of Alexander, the violent, but impotent, anger of Henry, the vain policy of the legates, and the obsequious ductility of the English prelates. He wrote again to the pope and cardinals, with the most free and independent spirit, (it was after the charge he had just received from the legates,) and to judge from his language, he felt the superiority of his own character. "It is not by dissimulation and artifice," said he to them, "that the church should be governed, but by justice and truth."

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Some hostilities have been mentioned. They were of little moment, originating from a feudal dispute between the kings, which almost daily happened, and terminating, as usual, in the destruction of castles, and the burning of villages. Seeds of unceasing enmity were sown on the very limits of their respective empires; their vassals, as interest, or passion, or partiality, inclined, suggested perpetual motives for war; and the protection shewn to Becket irritated, from night to morning, the hot spirit of Henry. Louis, on the other hand, religious and fond of churchmen, viewed his rival in the light rather of a heathen and unbeliever. A truce, however, was agreed on.

Hostilities in
France and
Flanders.

* Ep. 46, 47.

B b 2

Another

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Another dispute threatened to Henry more serious evils. The earldom of Mortagne in Normandy, which had belonged to king Stephen, was claimed by the earl of Boulogne, in the right of his wife, that king's only surviving child. Under the same title, he likewise pretended to some revenues in England. His brother, the powerful earl of Flanders, supported these claims; and as Henry rejected the demand, they had recourse to arms. Six hundred vessels were equipped; for they meant to invade England, during the absence of the king. The armament was great, and England had not then, it seems, a naval force to oppose against it. In the intestine broils of the late reign, commerce had been neglected; and, as Henry was in possession of such an extensive coast on the French continent, all fear of invasion, from that quarter, had ceased. Flanders was a maritime and commercial country. But the earls, in question, were his near relations, and bound to him by many favours shewn them, in their minorities. The blood of princes is no lasting tie, and favours are brittle, in the competition of interest. The militia of England became its bulwark, that is, such vassals as the laws of the age had trained to arms, and whom the crown could call to its assistance. Richard de Lucy was regent of the kingdom, and he so disposed his troops, that the earls were deterred from landing; and on Henry offering an annual pension of a thousand pounds, in lieu of all claims, (equal to fifteen thousand now,) the brothers declared themselves satisfied. The earl of Boulogne thus became vassal to the king; for the pension was deemed a *benefice*, which, agreeably to the feudal tenures, demanded a return of homage and fealty^f.

^f Gerv. ut sup.

At

At this time died Matilda, and she died regretted, principally by the Normans, and the inhabitants of Rouen, in which city she had long resided, and where her munificence and benefactions had been great. She built a stone bridge over the Seine, (where the bridge of boats now is,) esteemed one of the noblest works of the age. She erected churches and founded convents, and displayed her bounty in other pious and charitable donations; and, at her death, left large sums to be distributed among the sick and indigent. In the dispute with the primate she had taken no decided part, but the pope had enjoined her to mediate between him and her son, and messengers, from both parties, had endeavoured to conciliate her favour. She disliked many of the customs of Clarendon, and she blamed the king for having reduced them to writing, and insisted that the bishops should swear to observe them. This, she said, his predecessors had not deemed necessary.—Matilda, as I have before observed, in the last acts of her life was truly great. To her son she relinquished the sceptre of England, to secure which she had gone through a world of perils; and with it the rich domains of her husband, retiring herself to privacy, and never, as it seems, casting a repentant look back on the brilliant possessions she had left behind. Yet Matilda was a woman; and Matilda was arrogant and ambitious, fond of power, and of the thousand charms which wait on royalty! She was buried in the abbey of Bec, and on her tomb was written,

*Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens^b.*

Fortune,

^a L. i. ep. 52, 53.

^b Mat. Par. sub. an. 1186.

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Frederic
escapes from
Lombardy.

Fortune, which hitherto had generally favoured the schemes of Frederic, now chose to make him the sport of her most playful moods. We left him shut up in Pavia, having retired precipitately from before the confederated army. But in Pavia he did not think himself secure. All the winter he roved from place to place, seldom sleeping more than two nights in the same town or castle. The number of his enemies increased, and it was reported that the Lombards, with an army of twenty thousand men, were ready to march against him. He resolved secretly to withdraw into Germany. The marquis of Montferrat was his only friend. In his castles he distributed the numerous hostages, he had before received from the Italian cities, and having obtained permission to pass through the territory of Savoy, he set out, escorted only by thirty horsemen, and taking along with him some of the principal hostages. It was the month of March. Approaching to Susao, he ordered Zilio de Prando, a noble Brescian hostage, to be hanged, charging him with having been active in the confederacy; and he entered the city. The citizens, soon informed of the cruel act, rescued the other hostages, and with arms in their hands, went in search of the emperor. He had been apprised of their design, and having left in his bed, it is said, one of his officers, who in features resembled him, he disguised himself as a servient, and in company with five others departed, pretending they belonged to the retinue of a great nobleman who would soon follow. Thus they travelled through unfrequented roads, and after some days arrived on the confines of the kingdom of Burgundyⁱ. This

Frederic,

ⁱ Chron. Lauden. an. 1168. Joan. Sarib. ep. 62.

Frederic, in the habit of a menial servant, was he, at whose name, not long before, the cities of Italy had trembled, and whom the learned doctors of Bologna had pronounced to be master of the world!

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The confederates, hearing of the retreat of their mighty enemy, laid siege to a castle, where many of their hostages were confined, and took it. They attacked Pavia and the marquisate of Montferrat, on account of their friendship to the emperor; and that they might fix an eternal thorn in their side, the men of Milan, of Cremona, and of Placentia, marched into the plain between Asti and Pavia, which three rivers encircle, and where the lands of the latter city and of Montferrat confine. Here they laid the foundations of a new town, which rose so rapidly, that, in a short time, it could receive inhabitants and defend itself. The people of seven neighbouring villages they compelled to become its citizens, and they named it Alexandria, to signify their respect for the pontiff, and their contempt of Frederic Barbarossa. So hastily, however, was the plan conceived and executed, that, for want of sufficient materials, many of the houses were covered with straw, a circumstance which gave occasion to their enemies, to affix that epithet, in derision, to its name, which it retains to the present day. It is a proof of the extraordinary population of the country, if there be truth in the narration, that, within the year, Alexandria could send out fifteen thousand fighting men, horse and foot. The consuls then, waiting on the pope at Beneventum, made a tender of their city to him, and doing homage, bound themselves to an annual tribute*.

The

* Act. Alex. an. ut. sup. Murat. ib.

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The league, which had begun at Verona, now comprised almost all the cities of Lombardy, and the nobility, for their own security, daily acceded to it. In the absence of the emperor they had no protection, and late events had shewn, that on him they could not much rely. Alexander was himself become the animating soul of the confederacy, and the Lombards had lately petitioned, that he would reside amongst them. As they withdrew from Frederic, it was natural they should relinquish the schism; and, in the new archbishop of Milan, whom he had appointed his legate, the pontiff had a friend, who warmly patronised his interest, and whose virtues even his enemies were compelled to praise. This was Galdinus, a Milanese citizen, long famed in the churches of Lombardy¹.

Embassy from
Constantinople
to Alexander.

In this year, came to Beneventum, where Alexander resided, a splendid embassy from Constantinople, sent by Manuel Comnenus, the emperor of the east. Long had he cultivated the friendship of the Roman pontiff, and, two years before, a similar embassy had waited on him. It was to offer him assistance against the power of Frederic, to propose an union between the churches, and to ask for himself the imperial crown of the west. Laying their treasures at his feet, the ambassadors spoke: “Ardently has our master long wished to exalt the Roman church, his mother, and to do honour to you. Frederic, he hears, who, by his office, should be her protector, is become her enemy: now, therefore, does Manuel seek to help her. It is time, he says, that there be one fold and one shepherd. The church of his dominions, as it was in

“ancient

¹ Chron. Lauden, Joan. Sarisb. cp. 61.

" ancient times, he will reunite to yours; provided his
 " own rights be restored to him. Give him the crown, of
 " which the German is unworthy, and which is his by
 " right: his treasures are open to you, and his armies shall
 " march at your command."

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Alexander withdrew with the cardinals and the noble Romans who attended, when, having taken their advice, he returned, and said: "I thank his imperial majesty for the interest he has often expressed in our concerns, and for the good will he now shews to the Roman church and to me. His kind professions I have heared with pleasure, and what he asks, as far as my duties to God permit, shall be granted. He asks for the crown of the western empire. It is a momentous point, indeed; involved, on all sides, in perils and perplexities. The sacred decisions of the holy fathers forbid me to assent to it, particularly as those must be the terms, you mentioned. By my office, I am to procure peace to the christian world, and be the guardian of its concord. The treasures you have brought must return, not touched by my hands, to Constantinople^m." He soon after deputed two cardinals to Manuel.

And now died Pascal, the antipope, in the Vatican palace, indeed, where the arms of the emperor had placed him, but not respected, or obeyed, by the Romans. The faction chose him a successor, John, abbot of Strume in Hungary, whom Alexander had lately promoted to the see of Tuscum. He took the name of Callixtus III.

^m A&t. Alex. Murat.

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Commotions
in France,
which end in
a general
peace.

The truce of the last year, concluded between Louis and Henry, was to expire at Easter. In the mean time, a treaty of peace was proposed, under the mediation of the earls of Flanders and Champagne. But many obstacles stood in the way of its completion ; insurrections in Poitou, not discouraged by Louis ; and when the conditions of the treaty were adjusted, and an interview appointed, the murder of the earl of Salisbury, Henry's general in Aquitaine, by one of the disaffected barons. The murderer was Guy de Lusignan, and the earl was returning from a pilgrimage to Compostella. Dreading the vengeance of Henry, Lusignan fled from Poitou ; and we shall hear of his adventures in the kingdom of Palestine. His accomplices found an asylum in the court of France.—There was a rebellion also in Bretagne. Used as they had been to anarchy, the great barons submitted reluctantly to the restraints of order, and often thought themselves oppressed, because they were governed. Henry, with his usual celerity, quelled these licentious troubles. But again Louis received the malcontents, and listening, in the quality of supreme lord, to their complaints, promised them protection and redress. The dispositions on neither side were well formed to peace ; though Henry seemed most to desire it. He had most reason. Commotions in France detained him from England, where his presence was always necessary, while in the provinces themselves, they could only generate confusion and bloodshed ; and his dispute with the church became every day more alarming. The sentence of excommunication once pronounced had released every discontented baron from his allegiance. The day of meeting was at last namedⁿ.

Louis was at Chartres, and Henry at la Ferté Bernard ; and the place of conference was on the banks of the Huines, in the neighbourhood of both. Difficulties still remained. The revolted barons made many demands, which the English monarch would not satisfy, and messengers, to no purpose, passed between them. Eudo of Pontieure, with too much truth, it seems, had publicly accused Henry of having seduced his daughter, a young lady, whom he had delivereded to him as his hostage, and he demanded justice. Henry was chagrined and irritated ; and when Louis sent a messenger to let him know, that he waited his coming, he did not move. A great part of the day the king spent at the appointed spot, when, as Henry did not arrive, he crossed the river, in the presence of his nobility, washed his hands in the stream, and drank of its water, protesting aloud, that he had discharged his plighted faith. A second messenger was then dispatched, summoning Henry to give satisfaction for the faith he had broken, and Louis dismissed his nobles ; but he remained himself near the place, with a few attendants. It was almost night. Suddenly, as the king was retiring, Henry galloped up to the river, armed, and accompanied by a body of armed knights. The warlike approach alarmed the French, and the historian remarks, that an action would have ensued, had not darkness prevented it^o.

What were Henry's motives for this extraordinary behaviour, cannot be conjectured, as it is certain that he sincerely wished for peace. Louis resented it with a becoming spirit, and declared, he would hear no more of

• Ep. ut sup.

- BOOK II.** the treaty, unless satisfaction were made him for the insult.
 1163. —About this time, it appears, he was visited by ambassadors from William the Lion, king of Scotland, and from the Welsh princes, offering to him aid from their masters against the king of England^P. This circumstance, if true, might still more contribute to alienate the French monarch from the treaty of peace. He marched into Normandy, and burnt a small town and two castles. Henry retaliated.—But now, in all the pomp of German magnificence, arrived at his court, Henry duke of Saxony, his son in law, with three great prelates, sent by Frederic Barbarossa. They offered him aid against his enemies; and would he join the schism, they promised to lead an army into the heart of France. He received them with great respect; to their noble offers returned them an answer, prudent and courtly; and when they left him, he presented them with gifts, declaring his grateful sense of the honour they had done him^q.—Thus had all the summer and autumn passed, when mutual friends again interfered, and the kings were brought to an amicable interview.
 1164. On the sixth of January, they met at Montmirail in Maine, where peace was concluded on the following terms.—1. That Henry should renew his homage and fealty for Normandy, in the accustomed form.—2. That he should surrender the earldoms of Anjou and Maine, and the fealty of the vassals thereof, to prince Henry, his eldest son, who should pay homage and fealty for them to the king of France.—3. That Richard, Henry's second son, should, under the same conditions, be put in possession of the dutchy of Aquitaine,

^P Ep. ut sup.

^q Gerv. ut sup.

Aquitaine, and marry Adelais, the youngest daughter of BOOK II.
1168. Louis, but without any stipulated portion.—4. That Henry should hold Touraine, as a fief from the earl of Blois, the latter surrendering to young Henry, the office of Seneschal, to whom, as earl of Anjou, it properly belonged.—5. That the revolted barons of Poitou and Bretagne should be taken into favour, and their castles and lands restored^{*}.

Such was this memorable treaty, every article of which retrenched something from the power and dignity of Henry, without any return. Circumstances there must have been, which history has not recorded, that impelled him to it. The earl of Champagne, on the side of Louis, had been the principal negotiator, and a contemporary writer says, speaking of the treaty, that “he and Henry were contending which should outwit the other.” Which was outwitted, the treaty itself tells; and how fatally he was outwitted, a series of sad events too soon announced to Henry.—Then the young princes, who were present, approached, and did homage to Louis for their respective fiefs; and their father for Normandy.

The archbishop of Canterbury was persuaded to present himself before Henry at Montmirail, and, without reserve, to submit to him, himself and the decision of his cause. With infinite reluctance he had consented, and he went in company with some noble and religious persons. The kings were yet together, and the courtiers stood round. The primate threw himself at Henry’s feet, who instantly raised him. He then spoke, beseeching him, with much humility,

Henry and
the primate
meet.

* Ep. 66. Chron. Norm. Hist. of Hen. II. p. 498.

* Joan. Sarisb. ep. 66.

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humility, to consider the forlorn and troubled state of the English church, which, for his demerits, he owned, had so long suffered. “ To your majesty’s judgment,” continued he, “ here in the presence of our lord the king of France, of these prelates, and puissant nobles, I submit the whole cause which has divided us, *saving the honour of God.*”—The fatal words, as might have been expected, roused all the fury of Henry: in the most violent and pointed terms he upbraided him, calling him proud, and arrogant, and ungrateful. “ When he was chancellor,” said he, “ by all his display of magnificence, he only aimed to cast me from my throne.”—Becket’s behaviour was cool and respectful, and to the last observation, as he could, he replied with firmness and propriety. “ My liege,” said Henry to the king of France, interrupting the primate, “ attend, if you please: whatever shall displease him, he will say is against the honour of God, and his claims will be endless. But that you may not think, I require any thing contrary to this honour, I make him this offer. Before me there have been many kings in England, some greater, and some less, than myself; and before him have been archbishops of Canterbury, great and holy men: what, therefore, the greatest and holiest of his predecessors did for the least of mine, let him do that for me, and I am satisfied.”—The assembly loudly declared, that the king had sufficiently condescended; and as Becket was silent, Louis, with some emotion, said: “ My Lord archbishop, would you be greater or better than those holy men? Why do you hesitate? See! your peace is at hand.”—“ It is true,” he replied, “ my predecessors

" predecessors were greater and better men than me; but BOOK II.
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 " all of them, in their days, cut off some abuses, though
 " not all. Had they done it, I should not have to stand in
 " the present contest. If any of them were too cool, or
 " too immoderate, in their zeal, we are not bound to copy
 " their example. Freely I would return to my church,
 " were it possessed of that liberty, which, in the time of
 " my predecessors, it enjoyed; but admit *customs*, which
 " are adverse to the decrees of the holy fathers, I will
 " not."

He was proceeding, when they who had brought him thither, forcibly drew him from the ring in which he stood, urging him by every entreaty to drop that obnoxious clause, *saving the honour of God*. " And I must sacrifice that honour," said he, " to regain the favour of a mortal? Away, away!" — Many noblemen, French as well as English, now reproached him severely, saying, his own arrogance was the only bar to peace, and that as he opposed the will of both monarchs, he no longer deserved the protection of either; but should be expelled from their territories. The day was closing, when the kings mounted their horses, and withdrew. Becket soon found himself almost alone, the few friends who remained hanging their heads in dismay, inwardly reprobating his pertinacity, and concluding that all was lost. Himself only was not moved^a. But if, as he journeyed back to Sens, his mind, restored to cool reflection, never whispered to him, that a little more pliancy might have answered better, surely his views differed much from those of other men! But so long now had

he

^a Vita I. ii. c. 25. Gerv. an. 1169.

^a Ibid.

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he dwelt on the object, and so much had the praise of some and the opposition of others pressed it on his conscience, that he deemed himself a sufferer for justice-sake, when, in truth, it was to a certain punctiliose pride, or to obstinacy of character, perhaps, that he sacrificed his own peace, and the welfare of the church of Canterbury. So men would reason. It may be said, indeed, that he knew the king, and the suspectful insincerity of his professions.

Singular behaviour of Louis, and Henry's fears

The day after the conference, he returned to Sens. But the king of France, as he had done before, neither visited him the night he remained at Montmirail, nor supplied him with necessaries from his kitchen. This was considered as a certain token of his displeasure. His friends were much cast down, and they looked with anxiety to the near day, which, they concluded, would expel them from France. On this they conversed, asking to what land they should retire? “Be not apprehensive,” said the primate laughing, “when I am gone, you will not be molested. But, “should we really be shut out from England and France, “no one, I hope, will advise me to look for an asylum “among the Romans, who seem to practise indiscriminate “extortion. I have another scheme. They say that, “down the Saone, and on the side of Provence, the inhabitants are benevolent and liberal. To them we will go “on foot; and when they shall see how wretched we are, “perhaps they may pity us, and give us bread, till the “Lord shall send us better times.” — As they were thus conversing, an officer came up from the French king, saying, that his majesty requested to see the primate. “That is to banish us all!” exclaimed one of the company.

“Thou

"Thou art no prophet," observed Becket, "nor the son
"of a prophet; hold thy peace." They went, and found
the king, sitting with a sorrowful countenance; nor did
he rise, as the primate entered. It presaged no good, they
thought. Coolly he then bade them take their seats, and
was again silent. His head hung on his bosom, and the
whole man was pensive. With anxious attention the visi-
tors eyed him, thinking it gave him pain to pronounce their
sentence: when bursting into tears, he started up with a
deep sigh, and threw himself at the primate's feet. The
company were astonished, and, as Becket stooped to raise
him, the king, in broken words, said: "Indeed, father,
"you only saw: it was you only that could see. We were
"blind, who advised you to abandon the honour of God
"for the favour of a man. I am sincerely sorry, and beg
"your forgiveness. To God and to you I recommend my
"kingdom; and, as long as he shall give me life, I here
"promise never to desert you and your friends." The
primate gave him his blessing, and they parted. Wonder-
ful, from this time, was the veneration, which every where
attended him*.

The king of England, hearing of this extraordinary inter-
view, sent to Louis, expressing his surprise, that he should
continue to protect Becket, after what his own eyes had
witnessed at Montmirail. "Go," said Louis to the mes-
sengers, "tell your king, that if he will not relinquish cer-
tain ancient customs, which some deem contrary to the
law of God, because they appertain to his royal dignity;
neither will I surrender the hereditary privilege of my

* Vit. c. 27. Gerv.

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" crown, which has ever protected the unfortunate, and
 " those most who suffered in the cause of justice"."—The
 mixed character of Louis bore some great features.

Buoyed up by the countenance of the French monarch, or rather, prompted by his own temper, which nothing could bend, Becket had again recourse to severity. On all sides he spread his censures, suspending and excommunicating many, but those particularly who had pillaged, or who kept possession of the effects belonging to his see. Among these was the bishop of London, whom before, it seems, he had suspended. So general was the sentence, that scarcely among the king's chaplains was there one, from whom, at mass, he could take the kiss of peace. Fearful that the anathema might reach them, the prelates of the realm and the nobles reiterated their appeals to Rome; and the king again sent messengers to the pontiff, namely, the archdeacons of Salisbury and Landaff*. — Thus was a general commotion raised; and the primate, doubtless, might feel some satisfaction, in viewing the storm he had yet power to bring down on his enemies.

Nor was Henry, it is said, satisfied with his application to Rome. He moved the cities of Lombardy, knowing the pressure of their situation, and the league they had formed with Alexander. To Milan he offered three thousand marks of silver, (a mark was 13s. 4d.) for the reparation of their walls; two thousand to Cremona, one thousand to Parma, and as many to Bologna. He promised money to the pope, which should release him from the exactions of the Roman people, with ten thousand marks besides, and the

* Vit. c. 27. Gerv.

Dicet. Gerv.

the liberty to dispose of the vacant bishoprics in England. The interest also of the king of Sicily he implored^y. And why was the mountain thus in labour? — To procure the removal of Becket from France, or his translation to another see! Yet all he could obtain was, that ministers should be sent again to treat of a reconciliation. The primate, in a letter to the cardinal bishop of Ostia, speaks of these transactions, with much indignation, and protests that no citation shall compel him to make a journey to Rome, as his enemies seemed to have projected^z.

The nuncios, whom his holiness appointed to this second commission, were Gratian and Vivian, men learned in the laws, and of great reputation in the Roman court. They came with limited powers, and a form of agreement prescribed by Alexander, to which if the king would not consent, they were ordered to leave him; and, lest they might be corrupted, he bound them by an oath, to accept no present from him, not even their charges while they remained at his court, till peace were concluded. They brought two letters. In that to the primate, the pope commands him to pronounce no censure on the king, on his realm, or the honourable persons of his realm, till the return of the nuncios; and, if any had been passed, that it be suspended for the same period. He enjoins the king, for the love of God and the remission of his sins, to restore Becket to his see, and take him sincerely into favour^a. — When they arrived in France, Henry was in Aquitaine, whither they were advised not to go, but to wait at Sens till his return.^b

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Nuncios ar-
rive from
Rome.

^y L. iii. ep. 80.

^z Ep. 79.

^a L. iii. ep. 1, 2.

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Various fruit-
less confer-
ences.

The first interview was at Domfront in Normandy, towards the end of August. Returning late from the chace, the king alighted at their apartments, and while, with great politeness, he was conversing with the nuncios, up came young prince Henry to the door, with his attendant nobles, each one blowing his bugle-horn. They had killed the stag.—Early on the morrow was the conference, which passed in great debates. The king read the pope's letter with much emotion, and then demanded that the nuncios absolve those whom Becket had excommunicated. To this they would not consent, agreeably to their instructions, till he should promise to be reconciled to the primate; and also on condition, that they swore to restore what had been taken from Canterbury. Their powers, they said, went no further. Henry hesitated; and by turns was calm and impetuous. The day was far spent. “I see,” he exclaimed, “that the pontiff is not disposed to grant any request. By God’s eyes, then, I’ll do something else;” and turned furiously from them. “Sir, do not threaten,” observed Gratian; “we fear no threats; for we come from a court that has been used to give the law to emperors and to kings.” After some further altercation, he became more cool, and promised to give them an answer in eight days^b.

On the eighth day, they met at Baieux. The Norman prelates were all present; when the nuncios again requested, that the king would reinstate the primate. As usual, he, for some time, inveighed against him, and then said; “If I do any thing for that man, the pope shall be much obliged

^b Ep. 6, 27.

" obliged to me: but observe, you shall absolve my chaplains without the oath you talked of." The nuncios would not consent; and the king ran to his horse, and mounted, swearing, that he would never listen to another word on the subject. But the bishops interposed; and the nuncios, with much difficulty, gave way. Henry dismounted, and, after some conversation, publicly declared, that, "at the request of his holiness, he permitted Becket to return, and all those who had quitted England on his account." Turning to the nuncios, he then asked that one of them, at least, would go into England to absolve the excommunicated. To this they would not agree: indeed, their commission did not extend so far. Again was Henry enraged, and again he went away, saying: "Do what you will: I care not the value of an egg for you or your excommunication;" and remounted his horse. The bishops entreated, and he returned, proposing to them that they immediately write to the pope. As objections were made, he said: "And what if they should lay my kingdom under an interdict? Can not I, who am able to take a strong castle every day of the year, arrest an ecclesiastic who shall dare to be guilty of that act?" The tempest soon after ceased, when he calmly observed: "After all, it is my duty to do much at the request of his holiness, who is our lord and our father: Becket, therefore, may return to his see; and him and his friends I again take into favour." The nuncios and the assembly expressed great satisfaction.

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But peace was not yet concluded. The form of reconciliation remained to be settled, and the king insisted that the words, *saving the dignity of his kingdom*, should be inserted. "That was but a softer name for the customs of "Clarendon," observed the primate's friends, and proposed that the counter-clause, *saving the dignity of the church*, should then be admitted. Assemblies were held; discussions full of acrimony were revived; and neither party would recede. Michaelmas, in the mean time, approached, when the commission of the nuncios expired, and Gratian, weary of the fruitless negotiation, prepared to return into Italy. Vivian remained.

The king had more confidence in Vivian, imagining, after the departure of his colleague, that he might be prevailed on to adopt his measures. He proposed to meet him at St. Denys, to which place Vivian entreated that Becket also would repair, being convinced from some expressions of Henry, that an accommodation would now be effected. The primate very reluctantly consented, and came to Corbeil. At St. Denys, where the two kings again met on some public business, Vivian, in vain, laboured to extort from Henry a final compliance with the promise, he thought, he had made him. His answers were evasive; and the Italian finding himself duped, did not restrain his anger: "So lying a prince," said he, "I never heared or saw." They parted; and the king, passing by Montmartre, was visited by Becket. The archbishop of Rouen, with other mediators, spoke for the primate; in his name, requesting that to him and his friends he would give peace, permit their return, and restore their possessions to them:

" while

" while the primate, on his side, they said, was ready to do all that an archbishop owed to his prince." — After some conversation, which seemed to promise a happy issue, the petition was reduced to writing, when Becket added that, as a pledge of favour and greater security, he hoped he might be reconciled to the king by *a kiss of peace*. This was a customary form in reconciliations. The petition was read, and much approved; but again the king had recourse to evasions, using a circuitous language, which, while it seemed to grant every thing, was, in fact, loaded with inadmissible conditions. " And as to the *kiss of peace*," said he, " willingly I would grant the pledge, had I not publicly sworn in my anger never to do it, though concord were restored betwixt us." Thus ended the treaty; for the king of France and many others strongly advised the primate, not to return to his see, unless Henry gave this easy token of peace ^d.

Hardly had Vivian turned his back, when Henry dispatched a messenger, requesting he would return, and offering him twenty marks, would he resume his mediation. With a becoming dignity he rejected the base offer, and wrote to the king, still as a friend, advising him to embrace the late proposal, lest the storm, which threatened, immediately involve him and his kingdom ^e.—Alarmed, indeed, was this mighty monarch, and again he sent his envoys to Beneventum: for as Gratian was returned, with the young archbishop of Sens, the peculiar friend of Becket, he doubted not, but on their representation, the evil he dreaded must at last come. Vivian also he had insulted.

^d Ep. 9, 10, 62. Gerv.

^e Ep. 62, 63.

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With pain must Henry have reviewed the last transactions. At Domfront he had been indecently impetuous ; at Baieux testy as a child, and changeful as an April morning ; at St. Denys false and illusory ; and at Montmartre so triflingly evasive, as to convince most men, that the primate with reason doubted the sincerity of professions, which fear only, it seemed, in the pressure of intervals, extorted from him.

Severe edict
of the king.

But neither would he rely on the care his ministers might take of his interest at Beneventum ; nor on the influence he had before gained amongst the cardinals. He sent an edict into England of great severity, which he commanded to be universally obeyed, purporting ; That if any person should be found carrying any mandate from the pope or Becket, whereby an interdict might be laid on the country, he be treated as a traitor to the king and kingdom : that all persons obeying such interdict, be banished the realm, with all their kindred : that no man appeal to the pope or the archbishop : that no ecclesiastic go beyond sea, or return into England, without a passport. Such, and more were these injunctions, and the sheriffs of the counties were commanded to tender an oath of obedience to all the subjects of the realm, above the age of fifteen. The laity submitted ; but the prelates, and abbots, and principal clergy, were not so tractable. They refused to assemble, agreeably to the king's order, and condemned the whole proceeding. Among these stood foremost Henry of Winchester ; and the bishop of Norwich publicly excommunicated the earl of Chester, as a mandate from Becket enjoined him, in the presence even of the officers who had brought him a prohibition from the king. Coming down

from

from the pulpit, he laid his pastoral staff on the altar: BOOK II.
1169.
 “ Now let me see,” said he, “ who will dare to stretch his hand against the possessions of the church?”—Another attempt was made to bring about a reconciliation, which ended as others had done; and the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine closed.

The king’s ministers at Beneventum had obtained, that new commissioners should be appointed, the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Nevers. They were ordered to wait on Henry, and to admonish him to permit the primate to return to his see, to restore to him and his friends their possessions with full security, and to be reconciled to him by the kiss of peace: but if, within forty days, after this admonition, he delayed to comply, they are commanded to lay all his dominions in France under an interdict, by which the whole service of the church shall cease, save the administration of baptism, and of penance to the dying. Should the prospect of an accommodation be certain, they are authorised to absolve the excommunicated, and then to exhort the king to abolish the civil customs of his realm.—Alexander had been assured that to these terms Henry would assent, and full of this conviction he wrote many letters, to the king, to the archbishop of York, and to the suffragans of Canterbury.

But now it was every where reported, that the king meant to crown the young prince Henry, by the hands of the archbishop of York, to the prejudice, doubtless, of the see of Canterbury, to which, by ancient custom, the coronation of our kings belonged. Roused by the news, Becket

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New commissioners appointed.

¹ Ep. 65. Gerv.

² L. v. ep. 3, 6, 1, 7, 3.

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1170.

left nothing unattempted whereby he might impede its consummation. He obtained letters of inhibition from Alexander, directed to the archbishop of York and the English prelates ; and himself, on every side, was loud and threatening^h. Nothing succeeded. The messengers, who were returned from Beneventum, one of whom, let it be observed, was the notorious John of Oxford, reported not only that the pope approved the measure ; but that even he had empowered the archbishop to perform the ceremony. A letter to this purpose, addressed to that prelate, seems to have been circulatedⁱ. *

Prince Henry
crowned.

In the month of March, the king embarked for England, and, after a dangerous passage, in which he lost five ships, and many of his noble train, landed at Portsmouth, after an absence of almost four years. To correct the disorders, which, he saw with indignation, had disfigured the general administration of government, was his first care : but of this I shall speak afterwards : and his next was, to solemnise the coronation of his son. — The policy of this measure, which, though for a long time practised in France, had not yet been seen in England, cannot easily be discovered. An empty title, with no increase of power, was all it was designed to confer : but would not the name of king, with its pageant ensigns, naturally, in a young mind, excite a thirst for more substantial honours ? — Whatever were Henry's views, hastening to their accomplishment, he convened the great council of the nation. The great council of the nation, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs, wardens, aldermen, met him at Westminster, where, all wondering

* L. iv. ep. 42, 43, 44, 45. ^j Hist. of Hen. ii. p. 540. * See append. ii.

wondering at the novel sight, in solemn pomp the prince was crowned; Roger of York, with four attendant prelates, performing the ceremony. On the following day, public homage was performed by all the vassals; and at dinner, with an ill-judged condescension, the father, with his own hands, ministered to the royal youth. He was in his sixteenth year, and by character headstrong and arrogant. With him was not crowned the princess Margaret, whom with queen Eleanor the king had left in Normandy^k.

The commissioners, having received their mandates, had been ordered to follow the king into England: and of this they acquainted him, when he requested they would not expose themselves to the danger of the sea, adding, that he should immediately return to the continent. But Becket heared the news of the coronation with bitter pain; he heared, at the same time, that neither his own nor Alexander's letters, inhibiting the ceremony, had been publicly delivered; and he heared that one of the commissioners, with too easy a placability, had absolved the bishop of London from the sentence of suspension. His disappointment and trouble of mind, as usual, he vented in many complaints, which gave occasion to explications, and apologies, and accusations, in a multifarious correspondence^l.

Henry, however urgent the press of business, could not prolong his stay in England: for Louis, provoked at the insult offered to him in the person of his daughter Margaret, had entered Normandy; and the term fixed for the reconciliation with Becket drew to a conclusion. He again crossed the sea, having previously assured the commissioners, that

^k Gervas. Hoveden. an. 1170.

^l Ep. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

Henry and
the primate
are reconciled

nothing should, on his side, frustrate the treaty; and an interview, besides, had been settled with the king of France, for the twentieth of July. The primate engaged to be present.

In a meadow near Fretval, on the borders of Touraine, the kings met, and after two days conference, adjusted every cause of difference.—The archbishop of Sens, with the commissioners, then waited on Henry. In their company Becket had come to Fretval; and they so settled preliminaries, that his majesty appointed the next day for the interview. Early in the morning, with a numerous retinue, the king entered the meadow; and soon after came the primate, not unsplendidly attended. The crowd of spectators was vast. Springing from the circle, when he saw him at a distance, Henry galloped up to the archbishop, and saluted him, bareheaded. A few words of gratulation passed, and they both withdrew, familiarly conversing as they retired from the company. It did not seem, from their deportment, that they had ever been enemies.—With much gentleness, the primate exhorted Henry to retrieve his reputation which had suffered, and to make satisfaction to the church. The king assented. Becket then spoke of the late coronation, which he represented as an enormous derogation from the rights of Canterbury, and historically detailed the uniform practice from the conquest. “ I “ doubt not,” said Henry, “ but your see is the most noble “ amongst the western churches; nor is it my wish to “ deprive it of its rights; rather, as you shall advise, I will “ strive to repair the evil, and to restore to Canterbury its “ pristine dignity. But to those who hitherto have betrayed “ both

" both you and me, I will, by the blessing of God, make such an answer, as the deserts of traitors demand." BOOK II.
1170.

At the words, Becket sprang from his horse, and threw himself before the king; but he, seizing the stirrup, forced him to remount, and said, as the tears fell from his eyes: " My lord archbishop, why many words? Let us restore to each other our former affection, and in mutual good offices, forget every cause of rancour. But shew me honour, I beg, before those yonder, who have their eyes turned towards us." With this, leaving Becket, he rode up to the company, and observing some there who had been promoters of the late quarrel, he spoke: " If, when I find the primate full of all good dispositions in my regard, I were not reciprocally good to him; truly, I should be the worst of men, and prove that to be true which is said of me. There cannot be any counsel more honourable or useful to me, than that I should strive to go before him in kindness, and surpass him in the general practice of beneficence." The address was received with the warmest plaudits^m.

He sent to the primate, who remained at a distance, desiring he would now, in the face of the assembly, state his petition. The bishops, who bore the message, advised him to submit himself and his cause to the king's pleasure; but he declined their counsel, and they left him. He then deliberated with his friends, the companions principally of his exile; and having adjusted the terms, they all moved towards the king, who stood surrounded by his attendants. In the name of Becket, the archbishop of Sens spoke, and petitioned

BOOK II. petitioned, “that he would restore to the primate his royal
 1170. “ favour, peace and security to him and his, with the
 “ church of Canterbury, and the possessions belonging to
 “ it, as set down in a writing the king had seen; that he
 “ would be graciously pleased to amend, what had been pre-
 “ sumptuously done against him and his church, in the late
 “ coronation; while, on his fide, the primate promised
 “ love and honour, and whatever service can be performed
 “ in the Lord, by an archbishop, to his sovereign.” — “ I
 “ agree to all,” replied the monarch, “ and the primate
 “ and his friends I again take into favour.”

A long and private conversation, with the familiarity of ancient friendship, now took place between them; and only as night approached, they parted, having agreed, that Becket should first wait on the French king and his other benefactors, as gratitude required; and then make some stay with Henry, before he returned into England, that the world might learn how sincere their reconciliation was. They were departing, when it was proposed to Becket, that he should absolve the excommunicated, shewing to others the indulgence, which himself had just experienced. He observed, that the cases were very different, there being some in that number, whom the pope and other bishops had suspended, and whose crimes were of various descriptions: “ But being willing to shew mercy to all,” said he, “ I will take the advice of my king, and proceed as shall seem most expedient.” Apprehensive that an altercation might ensue, Henry drew the primate from the crowd, and requesting he would not heed the discourses of such men, he begged his benediction, and they all retired.

Soon

* Ibid. Gerv. Vita l. iii. c. 1.

• Ibid.

Soon after the conference, as they had been empowered, the commissioners absolved the excommunicated; and Becket dispatched agents to take possession of the lands and the effects of his fee; for the king had sent letters patent to his son, whereby he was commanded to make an ample restitution of all things, as they had been possessed three months before the primate departed from England. But it was the interest of many not to comply with these injunctions. They had long received the great revenues of the fee, and were not disposed to relinquish them. Excuses therefore were made, difficulties were raised, the young king was imposed on, and the day of restitution was put off. In the mean time, greater extortions were committed, and the produce of the lands, and the furniture of houses and castles, were consumed or conveyed to a distance. So the agents reported.^r

Weeks had passed, when Becket again saw the king at Tours, where he was received by him with a marked coolness; and, being pressed to execute the terms of peace, he told him to go to England, and that his possessions would be restored.—A few days after, he met him at Chau-mont near Blois, when Henry, with great kindness, conversed with him; and it was finally agreed, that he should immediately return to Canterbury.^{q.} But it was evident, that the king's heart was altered, and that he felt no longer the warmth of returning affection, which he had expressed at Fretval. From that time two months had elapsed. The change might be owing to many causes, (if ever his professions were sincere;) but principally it arose from the repre-

BOOK II.
1170.
Difficulties
are raised.

^r Ep. 53. Gerv. Vita.

^q Vita c. 2.

BOOK II.

1170.

representations of those, who were interested in the prolongation of the quarrel, or who, from enmity to Becket, wished he might never return. Becket himself, on many occasions, ascribed the whole quarrel, as he did the present breach of faith, not to the king, but to such men as I described, whom animosity and the love of rapine swayed. Among these he placed foremost Roger of York and Gilbert of London, and those who fattened on the lands of Canterbury^r.

Alexander, to whom regularly every event was reported; heared with much pleasure of the reconciliation; but soon also he heared that its conditions were not complied with. He ordered his commissioners, therefore, to announce to the king, that if, within thirty days, after this admonition given, he did not accomplish the peace, all his dominions in France should be interdicted. The primate also had obtained mandates of excommunication against those prelates, who had assisted at the coronation^s. It was the end of October. Preparing, therefore, to depart from Sens, he wrote to the king.—He speaks of the reconciliation at Fretval, and he calls on God to witness the sincerity with which he embraced it: that he likewise had acceded to it with dispositions equally sincere, trusting to his professions, he had not doubted. The letters he had sent to his son, commanding a restitution of his property, evinced, at the same time, his benevolence, and the peace and security he had offered. But, under various pretences, this restitution was delayed, he observes, from motives which Henry may investigate, and which, he is well assured, have a tendency to

Ep. 73.

Ep. 29, 31, 67, 68, 69.

to injure his honour and the peace of the church. He mentions Ranulph de Broc, who, for seven years, had oppressed the see of Canterbury, spoiling its lands, and dissipating its revenues, and whose hands were now become doubly rapacious. To prove this he has witnesses. "In the hearing of many, he has boasted," continues he, "that I shall not live to eat a whole loaf of bread in England." Yet all these evils, he tells him, he has power to avert: but that, if, as it now appears, Canterbury must perish from the enmity certain persons bear to himself, to save her, he is ready to present his throat to the executioner. He concludes: "Once more it was my wish to see you, Sir; but in lowness of heart, as you permit me, I am compelled to revisit my afflicted church, there, perhaps, to perish for her safety, unless I am speedily rescued by your goodness. But whether I live or die, to you I am devoted, in the Lord, and ever will be. Whatever befall me or mine, may heaven bless you and your children!" He never wrote more to Henry.

Resolved to embark for England, though his friends from all quarters advised him not yet to attempt it, he sent before him his faithful secretary, John of Salisbury. Sorry was the secretary to find all true that the agents had reported, and of this he informed his master. He informed him that, besides the general state of dilapidation, of demolished houses, of empty barns, of uncultivated lands, of fallen woods, and of a ruined tenantry, the revenues of the *last half year* had been just seized, and his agents ejected from their offices. He informed him, that the archbishop

The primate returns to England.

of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury, were the instigators of every violence; that they had entreated the king not to permit his return, unless he resigned his legatine powers, and unless he promised to observe the customs of Clarendon. — The primate, in the mean while, went to Rouen, hoping, as it had been intimated by the king, that he should there be enabled to discharge his debts, and return with honour: but here he found John of Oxford, with a letter from his master, which requested that he would no longer delay his journey, and which appointed the same John to escort him^a. — Evidently was Henry aware, that the primate would be exposed to danger, or he would not thus have wantonly insulted him. John of Oxford was his declared enemy; but he was the confidential servant of the king, and therefore most proper to guard him from violence.—They departed for Whitsand in Flanders.

Waiting here for a favourable wind, Becket was warned by a private messenger from the earl of Boulogne, to take care of himself. Intelligence was also conveyed to him, that the three prelates had passed through Canterbury, where they had instigated some powerful lords, the notorious Ranulph de Broc, Reginald de Warenne, and Gervase de Cornhill, with an armed force to guard the coasts, on which the primate was expected to land. Their orders were to search his baggage, from a well-grounded apprehension, that he brought mandates from the pope. But the lay conspirators, (for conspirators certainly they were, who, unwarranted by legal power, proceeded thus violently to molest

^a Ep. 64, 73. Gerv. Vit. c. 3.

molest an unoffending subject,) publicly threatened his life; if he dared to land. The bishops were at Dover.

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1170.

Thoroughly apprised, as Becket expresseth it, of these machinations, he took a hasty resolution, which sound policy could not justify, however much common resentment might suggest the measure, or the deserts of his enemies might call for it, or the permission of the king had empowered him to do it. The papal mandates, which suspended Roger of York, and renewed the sentence of excommunication against the bishops of London and Salisbury, he sent over, the very day before himself embarked; and they were put into their hands, while they were projecting, by every violence, to oppose the restoration of order and concord*. — The occasion of this censure was the irregular coronation of the prince: but it had not been, at this time, inflicted, it seems, had the behaviour of those prelates been less malevolent and insulting; for the other bishops, who assisted at the ceremony, though involved in the same sentence, were not molested*. Besides, had it been his fixed intention to proceed thus rigorously against them, and thereby to evince to the world, that his resentments were implacable, his pride unconquerable, and the love of concord most alien from his heart, he would not have waited to this precarious moment. It was their own hostile animosity which roused him: and if the coolness of reflection cannot applaud the step, the quick feelings of humanity will be at hand to mitigate our censure.

* Ep. 64, 73. Gerv. Vit. c. 3.

** Ibid. Dicet. Neubrig.

* Ep. 73.

BOOK II.

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Still he was advised not to venture. “ I see England before me,” he observed, “ and I will go to it, whatever may be the issue. It is enough, that the pastor has been, seven years, absent from his flock.” So saying he embarked, and after a prosperous voyage, landed in Sandwich harbour, on the first day of December.—With unbounded attestations of joy he was received by the people; but the armed band, headed by the noblemen, I mentioned, who had expected him at Dover, marched in great haste to Sandwich. The inhabitants of the place took up arms, resolved to defend the primate; while John of Oxford, who with pain viewed the wild attempt, went out to meet them. In the name of the king, he forbade them to offer any injury to the archbishop or his followers, well aware that the honour of his master was concerned; and if they would speak to him, he said, they might do it in a less hostile manner.. They came up unarmed, and without much ceremony, demanded that the stranger, who was with the primate, the archdeacon of Sens, should take an oath of allegiance to Henry and his son. This was resisted. They then questioned him, with much rudeness, about the suspension of the bishops; but as the crowd round the primate was great, and not disposed to see him insulted, they left him, and returned to the prelates at Dover.

The next day, he went to Canterbury. The acclamations on the road, and his reception in the city, with the ringing of bells, the music of instruments, and the songs of the clergy, spoke welcome to his heart, and attested the joys of the people.—On the morrow, came the same barons with

* Gerv. ep. ut sup.

with the chaplains of the bishops, demanding their absolution from the sentence, which had been pronounced, they said, in defiance of the king, and the customs of the realm.

" I did it," replied Becket, " with the king's permission ; " and absolve them I cannot : for an inferior judge cannot " undo the sentence of his superior, who is here the " Roman pontiff." They urged it more strongly, and they threatened the indignation of the king. " If the two " bishops then," observed he, " will take an oath before " me, according to the usual form, to obey the pope's " injunctions in this affair ; for the peace of the church, " and out of reverence to the king, with his advice, and " with the advice of the bishop of Winchester and others of " my brethren, I will venture to absolve them at my own " peril, and will treat them with every mark of gentleness " and affection." The answer was reported to the bishops ; when Roger of York (whose case the pope had referred to himself) objected to the oath, which could not be taken, he said, without leave of the king. It was observed, that the same bishops, when lately excommunicated by the primate only, had not been absolved without an oath to that effect ; and they seemed now disposed to accede to the terms of peace. " I have by me eight thousand marks of silver," said Roger: " them, if necessary, I will freely spend to " repress the stubborn arrogance of that man. Be not " deceived ; rather let us repair to the king, who hitherto " has protected us. If you quit him for his enemy, (for " never will their reconciliation be sincere,) expect to be " deemed deserters, and to be expelled from your sees. " Where then will you go to beg your bread ? Be true to
" the

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"the king. What more can Thomas do to you, than
"he has done already?"

The address succeeded, and the three prelates instantly determined to sail for Normandy. But before their departure, they dispatched messengers to the young king, by malicious insinuations, to persuade him, that it was the archbishop's intention to deprive him of his throne! — Himself, on his arrival, had sent to the prince, to acquaint him of his return, and to apologise for the suspension of the bishops. He now purposed to wait on young Henry, who resided at Woodstock, and after that, to make the visitation of his diocese. His entrance into London was splendid; but, the next morning, two officers from Woodstock stopped his progress, commanding him not to enter the king's cities or castles, and to return to his church. The insinuations of the bishops, though absurd and puerile, had produced their effect. He obeyed.

And now returned to Canterbury, he spent the days which intervened before Christmas, in retirement, in prayer, and in sermons to the monks and the people; for the general aspect of things, and the reports of every day, clearly told him, that something disastrous would surely follow. He had reason to apprehend, as he says himself, that the bishops who had crossed the seas, would impose on the king, and rekindle his anger against the church, which God, says he, avert! In other regards, amidst the fears of his friends, he was unmoved and dauntless. On Christmas day, he preached in the great church, and at the end of his sermon, told the people, that he should quickly leave them.

* Vita c. 5, 6, 7. ep. 64, 73.

* Ep. 73.

them. They wept; when suddenly, changing his voice and looks, he vehemently inveighed against the vices of the age, and by name excommunicated some of the most notorious of his enemies^b.

The three prelates, in the mean while, with the expedition of revengeful malice, had seen the king in Normandy. In agitation they threw themselves at his feet, imploring his justice against the primate, and his clemency for themselves, for his clergy, and for his kingdom. He had abused the king's indulgence, they said; adding falsely, that he had excommunicated not themselves only, but all those who were present at the prince's coronation. "Then, by God's eyes," said Henry in a rage, "he has excommunicated me." They proceeded to say, with equal truth, that, escorted by an armed band of soldiers, he was gone to the young king, purposing to enter his castles. "And have I maintained so many cowardly and ungrateful men," exclaimed Henry, no longer master of himself, "not one of whom will revenge the injuries I have sustained from that turbulent priest!" He added other unguarded reflections against the primate^c.

Four gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, knights and barons of the realm, Reginald Fitzurse, William de Traci, Richard Brito, and Hugh de Moreville, willing to gratify the anger of their prince, the furious impetuosity of which they should have known better, instantly resolved to execute his menaces. They departed for England, and landing near Dover, proceeded to the castle of Ranulph de Broc, about six miles from Canterbury. Here they spent the

^b Vit. c. 9, 10. Gerv. Hoved.

^c Vit. c. 8, 11. Gerv.

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1170.

the night, concerting with that enemy of Becket, how best they should execute their design. He had under his orders a band of soldiers. These they agreed to take with them; and on the following day, which was Tuesday, the twenty-ninth of December, concealing their arms, they entered the city^d.

Clarembaldus, a man of notorious depravity, whom Henry had forced on the monks, was abbot of St. Austin's. Into his monastery he received the conspirators, and entertained them, mutually conferring together on the dark business they had in hand. Mean while the primate, whose palace was a part of Christchurch, had dined, and after dinner was conversing on business, with the monks and his clergy. The knights entered his apartment, and, without ceremony, seated themselves on the ground at his feet.—“ We bring you orders from the king,” said Reginald Fitzurse, after a pause of silence: “ will you hear them in public, or in private?” —“ As it shall please you best,” replied Becket.—“ In private then,” rejoined Reginald: on which the company was told to quit the room. But he had not spoken long, when the primate observed that, it would be well, that others should hear what he said; and calling to his clergy, bade them to return. Reginald proceeded: “ We order you, in the king’s name, to go to his son, and pay him the homage which is due to your lord.” —“ I have done it,” replied Becket.—“ You have not,” said Reginald; “ for you have suspended his bishops, which looks as if you would tear the crown from his head.” —“ Many crowns, rather, I would place on his head; and

“ as

^d Vit. c. 12. Gerv.

" as to the bishops, they were suspended not by me, but by the pope ; " answered the primate.— " The sentence was procured by you ; " he rejoined.— Becket said ; " It does not displease me, I confess, when the pope avenges the injuries of the church and my own." — He then spoke of the insults he had received, and of the many evils to which his own possessions and those of his friends had been exposed, since the reconciliation at Fretval. — " Had you brought these complaints before your peers," observed Reginald, interrupting him, " justice had been done you." — " I have experienced the contrary," replied Becket : " But, Reginald ; you and more than two hundred knights were present, when the king told me, I might compel those to make satisfaction, by ecclesiastical censures, who had disturbed the peace of the church ; nor can I longer dissemble the proper discharge of my pastoral duties." — The knights sprang from the ground : " We heared no such words," exclaimed they ; " but these are threats. Monks ; we command you to guard this man : if he escape, you shall answer for him." — So saying, they went out ; but Becket following them to the outward door ; " I came not here to run away, gentlemen," he called after them ; " nor do I value your threats." — " You shall find something more than threats ; " they answered, and departed.

" It is wonderful," said John of Salisbury, when they were gone, " that you will take no one's advice. Why still more irritate those miscreants by your replies, and follow them to the door ? We could have advised you better."

* Gerv. Vita. c. 13, 14.

—“My resolution is taken,” answered the primate; “and “I well know what I should do.”—“Heaven grant, it may “be successful!” rejoined the secretary.

In the court of the palace, under a large mulberry-tree, the knights took off their outer garments, and appeared in armour; and having opened the door to the soldiers, they had brought with them, they all seized their arms, and again entered the palace. The arms the knights bore, were an axe in the left hand, to break through obstacles, if necessary, and in the right they brandished their naked swords. With much difficulty the primate had been prevailed on to leave his apartment; but the monks, whom his danger had alarmed, insisted on it; and as the evening service had begun, they led him to the church. With a slow and reluctant step, he advanced through the cloisters, and entered by a side-door. All was confusion here. “Cowards,” said he to them, as they were barring the doors, “I forbid you “to do it. I did not come here to resist, but to suffer.” Scarcely had he said the words, when the assassins, who had not found him in the palace, came rushing through the cloisters, and entering the church, divided. The primate, meanwhile, had ascended a few steps towards the choir.—“Where is the traitor Becket?” exclaimed Reginald Fitzurse; and as no answer was given: “Where is the arch-“bishop?” he repeated in a louder tone. Becket turned his head, and coming down the steps, said: “Here I am.—“Reginald, I have done you many kindnesses; and do “you come to me thus armed?”—He seized the primate’s robe: “you shall know at once,” said he. “Get out from “hence, and die.”—“I will not move:” replied the primate,

primate, drawing his robe from his hand. — “ Then fly ; ” exclaimed the knight. — “ Nor that either ; ” observed Becket : “ but if it is my blood you want, I am ready to die, that the church may obtain liberty and peace ; only, in the name of God, I forbid you to hurt any of my people.”

Reginald retired to give a severer blow : and being joined by the other assassins, he struck with all his might : but Edward Grime, a clerk, interposing his arm, received the weight of the blow, and the archbishop was only wounded on the head. “ Now strike : ” exclaimed Reginald.—Becket bowing his head, in a posture of prayer ; “ To God,” said he, “ and the patrons of this place, I commend myself and the church’s cause.” They were his last words. Without a motion or a groan, in the same devout attitude, with his hands joined, he received a second stroke, and as the murderers multiplied their blows, he fell motionless at their feet. “ He is dead,” said they, and went out.

Thus, in the fifty-third year of his age, died Thomas a Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and primate of England. — Without incurring the imputation of a vain singularity, may I say, that the character of this man has never been fairly appreciated ? When the catholic draws the portrait ; all his virtues are emblazoned, and his blemishes are lost in the glare of light. They view him as a saint ; and unfortunately so imposing has that character been rendered, that the essential stains of mortality are not allowed to rest upon it. Since the recent date of the reformation, it should seem, that the moral order of things has been inverted.

¹ Gerv. Chron. et Act. Pont. Hoveden. Vit. c. 15, 16, 17, 18.

Some virtues lost their name ; and what had been religious, exemplary, and perfect above the reach of unassisted nature, ceased to be so. The protestant then seized the pencil, and viewing Becket, drew a portrait, on which were seen no lines of former beauty. On both sides, is much partial judgment. The ancient historians, I know, who lie before me, wrote with too warm an impression. The glare of miracles, they thought, was flashing round them ; and the praises of Rome and of Europe echoed in their ears. It is an *apotheosis* which they celebrate. But because this is too much ; can we sit down with too little, and say that we are just ?

With some enthusiasm on my mind, I confess, I have described the conduct of Becket. Every where I saw him great as other men, and on some occasions, I saw him greater. Real excellence there may be ; but it is, by comparing only, that we judge. By his side, the contemporary men of the day, the greatest the eræ could produce, in church or state, lose all their splendor. Alexander is an irresolute and timid politician : the prelates of England, basely deserting a cause, which their own consciences held factious, are courtly sycophants, and excite contempt : the sacred college of cardinals, bribed by gold, forget their dignity, and bartering away the privileges of the Roman see, publicly post up their venality, and become the shame of christendom : Henry, the lord of many people, whom Europe then admired, and whom posterity has called the greatest of English kings, through the quarrel which himself provoked, is wayward, vindictive, timorous, and deceptious, never shewing one exertion which became a king, and ever indulging a train

of affections, which would have disgraced his lowest vassal; BOOK II.
1170. Becket, from the beginning, is firm, dauntless, composed, and manly; like a deep and majestic river, he proceeds even in his course, hardly ruffled by rocks of opposition, and true to the level he had taken.

His endowments from nature were great, and he had given to them such cultivation, as the state of the times permitted. It would have been well, perhaps, had he never seen Bologna, and imbibed from its masters those maxims of church domination, which, though the age held them sacred, were to him the occasion of an unfortunate controversy, and to others brought much affliction. Early in life, he was engaged in business, which made him an able negotiator; and the favour of his prince, which soon followed, raised him to uncommon greatness. But the unbounded confidence he enjoyed, was all used to ennable the source from which it flowed. He did not enrich himself, his family, or his retainers. All was Henry's. His influence he employed to gain him friends, and to spread his interest; and when he displayed a munificence, more than royal, it was his master's fame he looked to. The love of pleasure, which, in a dissipated court, can make the stoutest virtue tremble, passed over his senses, as a gentle gale. There was a sternness in his character, which would not bend to affections that enervate; and it is remarkable, that, even when his enemies were most numerous and malevolent, they never charged him with a single vice. His ruling passions were the passions of a great mind, such as, when circumstances favour, lead men to the achievements of patriots and of heroes; and had providence given Becket to his country,

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country, but a few years later, we should have seen him, opposing with main fortitude the wild pretensions of Rome, and at the head of the barons, wresting *Magna Charta* from the tyrant son of Henry. On some occasions, I think, he was too acrid in his expressions, and too unyielding in his conduct; but when we weigh his provocations and the incessant stress of low opposition, wonder we cannot, and we may easily forgive. His private virtues were amiable. They endeared him to Henry, who loved him with a brother's love; nor were they soured, it seems, by adverse fortune. They made him many friends; and John of Salisbury, his secretary and companion, then describes him best, when he checks his impetuosity, and chides his too caustic humour, and does not give offence.

With regard to the controversy itself, he only is competent to judge, who can transport himself back to the times I have described. The privileges of the church, deemed sacred, and by a selfish policy, too much, at all times, confounded with those of religion, were immediately connected with it. To require that Becket, on this head, should not have had the notions, which christian Europe then had, is absurd; and to require that, from any worldly motive, he should have relinquished them, is to think basely of human nature. I read in all his letters the strongest conviction of the magnitude and holy import of his cause. By the force of what casuistry, then, could he have acted than as he did? The favour of his prince, the allurements of patronage, the vast power of Canterbury with its wealth, and the endearing ties of his country, he sacrificed. In the gratification of a ruling passion, I know, all that is not connected with it, weighs as does

does a feather ; but, in the situation, he left, was there not a wider scope for action, than in exile, in the retirement of Pontigny, or in the dependence, even for bread, on the precarious bounty of another?

Religion, I think, through life, gave energy to his conduct. I speak of religion as he viewed it, not always, perhaps, clear from every misconception in theory, or in practice, always uninfluenced by human failings. To read its divine maxims, with an unerring precision, and to be guided in all things, by them alone, has been of some minds, I believe, the noble ardour : but the best wishes of the heart are clogged by the connate weaknesses of our being.—There was a time, when the virtues which best become a churchman, stood not foremost, it is true, in the life of Becket. That time I marked. But Theobald, his patron and his guide, had then given him to Henry, and told him to be his companion in the cabinet, in the court, in the camp, and in the sports of the field. The old man's views were upright. Appointed to a higher charge, with which those occupations could not accord, even as a misjudging age beheld it, with a becoming fortitude, he broke from every engagement, and became the shepherd of his flock. Courtiers, he knew, and men of earthly minds, would charge him with ingratitude, and with motives even of ambition. He spurned the malevolent imputation, and as the duties of his station directed, steadily pursued his choice. What benefits England might have drawn from his exertions, in the promotion of virtue and the suppression of vice, the troubles which soon followed, did not permit her to experience. To good men the prospect had been flattering.—Through the trying years

BOOK II. of prosecution, religion, doubtless, often aided his resolution; and when he exceeded, let it be remembered, that the conviction of his mind, and the patronage of many, had then given an enthusiasm to his cause.—He practised abstemiousness and other penitential rigours. These, I know, are an equivocal sign of virtue; but when they are done in secret, or are known only to a few, he, truly, must be an unequitable man, who will ascribe them to other motives, than those of piety and self-abasement.

Give me the greatest heroes, whom ancient times did deify, or such, as a more temperate posterity has registered on the lists of fame, and I will say, that Becket, when he closed his life, was full as great as they. All his native energy then collected at the heart; and seeing the heavens, as he thought, opened to him, he fell, as blessed martyrs had done.

In a word, he had blemishes, and he had many virtues: his cause, which to us wears few marks of christian truth, to him was sacred, and he defended it sincerely: but if many catholics have praised him immoderately; why shall protestants be unjust? True it is,

Men's evil manners live in brass, their virtues
We write in water.

END OF BOOK II.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E I G N
OF
KING HENRY THE SECOND,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

B O O K III.

Henry is afflicted, and sends ambassadors to the pope.—Invasion of Ireland.—It submits to Henry.—He is reconciled to Rome.—View of Affairs on the continent.—Rebellion of Henry's sons.—Progress of the war.—Henry visits the tomb of Becket.—The Scottish king is taken, and the rebellion in England suppressed.—The siege of Rouen, which is followed by a general peace.—Miscellaneous occurrences.—Frederic defeated by the Lombards, puts an end to the schism.—The Vaudois or Albigenses.—Third council of Lateran.—Events in England.—In France and Germany.—Other occurrences.—Death of the young king.—Independence of the Lombards, and other events.—Embassadors from Jerusalem.—Prince John goes to Ireland.—Conduct of Frederic

and the popes.—The detention of Adelais excites hostilities.—Battle of Tiberias, and loss of Jerusalem.—Preparations for a general crusade.—Hostilities in France.—Henry dies.—Sketch of his character.

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Henry is afflicted, and sends embassadors to the pope.

HENRY was in Normandy, celebrating the Christmas in the castle of Bure, and busied with his council in affairs of general concern, when the fatal news arrived. Having perceived, indeed, that the four gentlemen suddenly left his court, he had taken precautions to prevent their violence; and de Humet, his Norman justiciary, with proper instructions, had followed them to England. Their dispatch eluded all precaution, and the blow was stricken^a. —He heared the news with horror, and for many days, in gloom and consternation, expressed the wildest grief. But it was necessary, in the pressing moment, not to be inactive. Two of his chaplains waited on the monks of Canterbury, in their master's name, expressing his abhorrence of the murder, detailing his grief, pleading his innocence, and begging their prayers in atonement of the crime, which his intemperate expressions, he feared, might have occasioned. “The king,” they concluded, “bears no resentment against the dead; let the body be honourably interred^b.”

A solemn embassy was then sent to the Roman pontiff, at the head of which was the bishop of Worcester. But the friends to the deceased primate had been more active. Two priests, who had seen him expire, calling at the French court, took letters from Louis, from the earl of Blois, and two from his brother, the archbishop of Sens, and with them hastened into Italy. The letters, written in the true spirit

^a L. v. ep. 79. Imag. hist. an. 1171.^b Gest. post mart. c. 1.

spirit of enthusiasm, demanded vengeance against Henry; they spoke of Becket as of God's martyr; and they more than intimated, that miracles were already worked at his tomb^c. — Through many difficulties the royal embassy reached Sienna, whence four of the company were dispatched to wait on his holiness, at Frascati. Alexander refused to see them. Henry, however, had friends among the cardinals, by whose interest an interview was procured. Arduous was the task to exculpate their master, when guilt was so apparent, and when the general voice called for justice; nor could they effect it. The privileges of the church, and the dignity of the Roman see, of which Becket had been legate, were all involved. The English ministers saw reason to despond, but they were not idle, for the fatal day, the Thursday before easter, approached, when it was customary to denounce ecclesiastical censures. In these censures, it was said, his holiness was immutably fixed to include Henry and all his dominions. Thus alarmed, and advised by their friends in the sacred college, the ministers notified to the pope, that they were empowered to declare, on oath, that the king would submit to his commands, and that himself, in person, would swear the same. On the day, they so much dreaded, they took this oath; and Alexander was content, by a general sentence, to excommunicate the murderers of Becket, and all who *advised*, or *abetted*, or *assented to*, their crime^d.

Soon after easter, came the other ambassadors, who had remained at Sienna, and admitted to audience, they pleaded their master's cause. But Alexander seemed resolved to

^c Ep. 78, 80, 81, 82.^d Ep. 83, 84.

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punish. They intreated, therefore, they implored the aid of the cardinals, and they invigorated that aid, it is said, by profuse donations; when the pope finally consented to send legates, "who might see and know the king's humility."—Thus were matters mitigated, the thunder was suspended, and it did not seem, that measures of any violence would be used, till the legates, who were not yet named, should come into Normandy.^e—The ambassadors returned.

Henry did not wait their return; but hearing what the pontiff's intentions were, he would not expose himself, so soon, to the wily arts of his Italian emissaries, which he had often experienced; and failed to England. The ports he ordered to be guarded, and all passengers to be searched, that no letters of interdict might reach him.^f—Passing near Winchester, he visited its venerable bishop, who was near his end, and who, with much severity, called him to account for the ~~the~~ unhappy incident. Five days after he died, having possessed the fee of Winchester more than forty years. The uncommon character of Henry de Blois, and the events of his life, would form an episode of much entertainment; but the press of various business forbids the digression.

And now an object of vast magnitude engrossed the thoughts of Henry. It was the conquest of a kingdom, nature's fairest island; which, once, in arts, in science, in commerce, and in arms, shall threaten rivalry to England, when a sister's love, uniting all their interests, may call to them the admiration of surrounding nations. I speak of Ireland, to enter which he now prepared; and the

• Ep. 83, 84.

† Gerv. an. 1171.

the busy reflections of the people, and his own melancholy, averted from the death of Becket, were, for a time, absorbed in the splendor of this new achievement. It was the month of August.

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Invasion of
Ireland.

Soon after his accession to the throne, under what pretence, I know not, Henry had meditated this expedition; and to veil the rapacious scheme, he had procured a bull from Rome, empowering him to seize the devoted land, as a part of the rightful demesne of St. Peter: "for all the islands," said the pope, "belong to him." The ridiculous pretension was founded, it seems, on a supposed donation of Constantine, which the criticism of the age had not then discovered to be spurious. But to reform the ways of that fallen people, by extending among them the Christian faith, by enlarging the bounds of the church, and by securing to the see of Rome a penny from every house, was the ostensible motive, as the bull declares, which would sanctify the measure:—The description which historians, too partial, doubtless, to the English interest, or biased by exaggerated tales, have left us of the barbarous manners of the Irish, of their vices, and of the want of every internal resource, whereby governments are upheld, exhibits the wildest chaos. Immerged in indolence, say they, not to labour they deemed supreme delight, and freedom from restraint was the only treasure which they valued. The gifts of nature to Ireland were excellent; her own acquisitions were detestable^b. So spoke her enemies. Yet, but a few centuries before, from certain documents we know, what that island was.

It

^a Baron. an. 1159. Hist. of Abeil. p. 357.

^b Giral. Camb. Topograph. Hibern.

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It was the seat of science, the seminary of learning, and the resort of those, whom the noblest views could animate. Thither many retired from England, and they were received with open arms. The Irish maintained them; they gave them books; they became their masters. To them nations were indebted for the light of christianity; and in many countries, of which they were the apostles, they founded convents, diffusing abroad the spirit of genuine virtue, dispelling the shades of ignorance, and becoming, what is most noble in human achievements, the real friends to man¹.

As succinctly as may be, I shall detail the events of this conquest.—Ireland, at the times I am describing, was composed of five principal sovereignties, Leinster, Munster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught, over which, with a power rather nominal, presided a prince, whom they called their monarch. This was Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught. Though, by ~~law~~, the jurisdiction of the inferior kings was subjected to the sceptre of the monarch; by it they were seldom controuled, and they were the constant rivals of his greatness. In the five realms, besides, were many inferior chiefs, who held in their clans an independent sway. Anarchy, dissentions, and the horrors of eternal war, frustrated every attempt, which some patriots had made to unite the jarring elements of government. Within was weakness: and as the circumstance excited the rapacity of the native chieftains, so did it invite the attacks of foreign adventurers.

Dermod Mac Morrogh, king of Leinster, by his licentious tyranny, had excited the general odium; when a confederacy

¹ Beda l. 3 et passim.

racy was formed against him, which invaded his territories, and expelled him the kingdom. He retired to Henry, whom he found in Aquitaine, and laying before him his many grievances, he entreated his assistance, and promised, if restored by him to the throne of his ancestors, that he would hold it in vassalage, under the crown of England. The alluring offer was accepted ; but as the king, then engaged in difficulties, could not himself embark in the enterprise, he only gave to Dermot letters patent, whereby his subjects were licensed to aid the Irish prince, in the recovery of his dominions^k.

Dermot came to Bristol. Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, whom profuse expences had reduced to indigence, was the first adventurer, whom the liberal offers of the prince engaged in the enterprise. He promised him, besides lands and riches, that he should marry his daughter, and be declared heir to his kingdom of Leinster. Richard, in return, was to aid him with a powerful body of forces. Soon afterwards, Dermot, that he might be nearer to his own country, went to St. David's. Here two other noblemen, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen, sons of Nesta, once mistress to Henry I. promised him their assistance ; with which being satisfied, he secretly retired to Ireland, and hiding himself within the walls of a convent, during winter, by the unnoticed exertions of his friends, prepared all things for the coming of his English allies^l.

Fitzstephen landed first with thirty knights, sixty men at arms, and three hundred archers, the flower of the youth of South Wales. Him Hervey de Mountmorres accompanied

^k Giral. Camb. Hiber. Expug. c. 1.

^l Ibid. c 2.

nied the uncle of Strongbow; and, the day after, came Maurice de Pendergast, with ten knights and a body of archers. They were joined by Dermot with five hundred men: when, after a tender of mutual oaths, they marched against the towns and strong holds of their enemies; and all gave way before them. The discipline of the invaders insured success to their attacks; and the unusual sight of men and horses, glistening in armour, struck terror to the breasts of the multitude.— But Roderic O'Connor, sovereign of the island, assembled the states of the nation, where, having awakened their alarms, he assembled an army, and entered Leinster. The inferior forces of Dermot could not meet him in the field: but they secured themselves in a valley, and defying all attack, were prevailed on to accept terms of accommodation. The quiet possession of his kingdom was secured to Dermot, under fealty to the monarch^m.

Not long after arrived Fitzgerald, with ten knights, thirty horsemen, and about a hundred archers. At the sight of them Dermot, whom no contract could bind, forgot his engagement. He entered the territory of Dublin, which, though a fief of his crown, was, in other regards, an independent city, and cruelly wasted its lands; and he again turned his arms against Roderic, whom he foiled in many actions, in support of Donald, prince of Limerick, who had implored his aid. Lifted up by these smiles of fortune, the tyrant aspired to the sovereign controul, and confiding his thoughts to the English chieftains, he wrote, by their advice, to Strongbow, who still deferred the execution of his contract.

^m Girald. Camb. c. 3, &c.

contract. “ We have beheld the storks and the swallows,” said he by his messenger; “ the birds of summer came, and “ with the warning of the tempest, they returned. But “ neither gentle gale nor furious blast has blessed us with “ thy long wished for presence.” He urges him to come speedily, and announces the certain success, which will attend his arrival. The earl listened to the summons; heared with emotion the glorious feats of his countrymen, and resolved to follow. But he first waited on Henry, requesting his permission; for as Dermod had recovered Leinster, the licence which had been granted obviously expiredⁿ.

The king did not grant, nor did he refuse, the petition. Strongbow, therefore, prepared to depart, and he sent before him Raymond, a valiant youth of his household, the nephew of the half-brothers, Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald, with ten knights, and seventy archers. His exploits near Waterford were signal; while the earl, in the mean time, passed along the coasts of Wales, collecting soldiers to his standard. With an army of two hundred knights and a thousand men, he sailed from Milford, and landed within sight of Waterford, which, on the third day, with the most dreadful carnage, fell before him. Dermod then, and the English chiefs, joined the noble earl; when the horrors of the scene were, for a time, cheered by the festive celebration of the stipulated nuptials, between him and Eva, the daughter of the Irish king. This done, they marched against Dublin, and carried it by assault^o.

While success thus crowned their measures, and the English invaders, in the glow of victory, meditated new

ⁿ Ibid. c. 11, 12.

^o Ibid. c. 13, 16.

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conquests, and framed new plans for wealth and grandeur, their master, Henry, viewed their progress; nor could he be insensible to its probable issue. Policy demanded he should check the bold adventure, before it was too late, and his subjects acquiring, by their prowess, an independent sovereignty, might defy his power. He published an edict, forbidding his ships to trade to Ireland, and commanding all his subjects to return; or, with the forfeiture of their estates, to be banished for ever. Strongbow, at whom the edict principally aimed, saw the perils which threatened, and consulting with his friends, he resolved to dispatch Raymond to the king — “With your permission;” said the young warrior, addressing Henry, “if he remembers well, “ did the earl of Strigul sail to Ireland, wishing only to assist “ your vassal, the king of Leinster. Whatever, therefore, “ the favour of fortune has bestowed upon him, as it all “ flowed from your royal munificence, so shall it return to “ the same, to be disposed of, as your will shall direct.” To this flattering offer no answer was returned; for it was made, when the news of Becket’s murder spread the first alarm, and the schemes of policy were drowned in consternation.^P

A few months after, died Dermot, king of Leinster, and the earl of Pembroke, (Strigul,) as had been stipulated, claimed his territory. Great achievements were now performed. Dublin was attacked by an army of Norwegians, which its late governor led against it; but they were repulsed and slaughtered: and soon Roderic himself, while his allies, the northern islanders, blocked up the port, surrounded

^P Girald. Camb. c. 19, 20.

surrounded the city with a mighty host. The patriotic archbishop of Dublin, who saw his country on the brink of ruin, by every effort, had stimulated this attempt; and himself appeared in arms. The whole English force, with all their chieftains, Fitzstephen only excepted, lay within the walls. No assault was made; but every pass, by sea and land, was guarded; while the besiegers, in full expectation, waited the sure effects of famine. Two months had nearly elapsed, and the blockade endured, and the wished-for distress came upon the besieged. At the same time, certain report was made, that Fitzstephen, in his fort near Wexford, was attacked, and that, unless in three days relief came, he must inevitably perish. With him were his brother's wife and children. Strongbow called the chiefs together; when Fitzgerald laid before them the extremity of their danger, from which their own valour alone could free them. He spoke of the cowardly and ill-armed multitude which lay round them, and feelingly mentioning his brother's distress, he advised an immediate sally. Raymond, who was returned from his embassy, seconded his uncle's proposal, and only moved, that the first assault be made on the quarters of Roderic. It was agreed. Instantly three bands were in readiness. The van of twenty knights, was headed by Raymond: the second, in the centre, of thirty, Milo de Cogan, the governor of the city, commanded: and the third, which formed the rear, consisting of forty, Strongbow himself and Fitzgerald led. The squires of the knights, who, as their masters, fought on horseback, marched with them, and to them were joined some citizens of Dublin. The whole number thus arrayed, amounted, perhaps, to six hundred men.

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About the ninth hour of the day, impetuous as a torrent, the army sallied. But the enemy, unsuspicious and unguarded, lay unarmed in the plain. Dismay seized them, and they fled on all sides, while Raymond in the van advanced, mowing his way to the tent of Roderic. The two sons of Fitzgerald, whose place was in the rear, emulous of their kinsman's glory, sprang forward to his standard. Resistance was no where made. The alarm soon reached the sovereign of Ireland, who was bathing in his tent, and he had time to escape in the general confusion. Till the close of evening, the pursuit and carnage lasted, when loaded with spoils and the abundant provisions of the camp, the English returned to the city, having lost, it is said, but one foot-soldier, and slain fifteen hundred of the enemy. By the next morning, the whole multitude had disappeared ; and the ships which blocked the port, seeing the flight of their confederates, sailed to the isles from which they came^a.

But Fitzstephen was in the hands of his enemies, not subdued by force, but circumvented by fraud and perjury ; and the news reached Strongbow, as he was marching to his rescue. He turned aside, therefore, to Waterford, where he found Mountmorres, who had gone on a second embassy to Henry, and from him he learned, that he could no longer delay to wait on his sovereign in England. His sovereign was at Newnham in Gloucestershire, where the earl presented himself before him. The indignation of Henry was, at first, great; but it subsided, and he received his subject into favour, on condition, that, renewing his former homage and fealty, he surrendered Dublin, with its

^a Girald. Camb. c. 22, 23, 25.

its adjacent territory, to the king, and the sea-port towns, and the castles he had conquered ; his other acquisitions remaining to him and his heirs, in vassalage to the crown of England. The earl then understood, that Henry himself, with a powerful army, was preparing to pass into Ireland.

The events I have related, which thus precipitated the fall of Ireland, had occupied no more than two years. The principal causes of the disaster were evident : on the side of the invaders, superior valour, superior discipline, and superior arms, which ambition and every allurement animated ; while no resolution, no wise counsels, no spirit of union, no patriotism, no bold despair, actuated the breasts of the invaded. Even when the strangers were few, and easily assailable, no plan of prepared opposition was laid ; and when the danger, as their strength grew, was greatest, intestine discord prevailed, and the arms, which a common enemy provoked, were turned against their brethren. So bad was the constitution of their political system, that, had not an invader come, misery, it seems, might have multiplied, till to be conquered would have been deemed a blessing.

Soon in Milford haven was a fleet of four hundred and forty ships ready, on which embarked the English army, five hundred knights, with their attendant horsemen, and a numerous band of archers. It was the sixteenth of October, 1171 ; when, with a prosperous gale, they sailed, and on the following morning, touched the Irish shore. The army landed near Waterford¹ ; but as the royal passenger disembarked, a white hare, says the historian, start-

Ireland submits to Henry.

ing

¹ Girald. Camb. c. 28.

² Ibid. c. 30. Hoveden. an. 1171.

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ing from the brakes, was taken, and presented to him as the omen of conquest! ^t The next day, they marched to the city, where the inhabitants of Wexford, into whose hands Fitzstephen had fallen, delivered him in chains to Henry, hoping that himself would punish his transgressions. How gentle was this behaviour to a man, who had brought ruin on their country! Henry, whose wish, it seems, it was, to be thought the protector rather of Ireland, and whose conduct towards the earl and his associates, from the beginning, had been imposing and mysterious, reproached, in severe terms, the captive hero, and remanded him to prison.— Mac Arthy, prince of Corke, then came, and submitting himself, swore fealty, and gave hostages for the payment of an annual tribute. — From Waterford the king advanced to Lismore, and thence to Cashel, near which, on the banks of the Sure, he was met by O'Brien, prince of Limerick, who, on like terms, did homage; as did also, soon afterwards, the prince of Offory, with all the inferior potentates of the south. Careless and loaded with presents they returned to their territories, heedless of the chains they also bore. From Cashel Henry again visited Waterford, where he pardoned, and gave liberty to Fitzstephen, and then proceeded to Dublin. It was the progress rather of a monarch visiting, in paternal kindness, his faithful people, than the march of an ambitious conqueror. The princes of the neighbouring provinces, emulous of submission, here implored his friendship, and made their homage. Only the king of Ulster, and its princes, did not come.

^t Hoveden. ibid.

But Roderic O'Connor, the monarch of all Ireland, moved not from Connaught, pleading his sovereign dignity, and vainly hoping that fortune might listen to his vows. Hugh de Lacy and Fitzakelin, commissioned by Henry, were sent; and Roderic met them near the Shannon, on the borders of his kingdom. They proposed their master's terms, to which, it is said, he promised obedience, at once doing homage in their hands, and agreeing to a tribute, as the other princes had done^u.—Till now, in the revolution of states, Ireland had not known a foreign master.

The festival of Christmas approached, which Henry wished to celebrate with unusual pomp; and, as in the city of Dublin no house was sufficiently spacious to receive the company, he ordered a temporary palace, after the fashion of the country, to be constructed of wattles or smoothed twigs. Here he feasted the kings and nobility of Ireland, with a magnificence, well adapted to reconcile submission, to ease the pain of dependence, and to exhibit, in resistless lustre, the superior eminence of the new master they had chosen. Even, because it was his pleasure, they ate the flesh of cranes, says the historian, at the royal banquet, which before the nation had abominated^v. But he does not say, that the Irish minstrels also, in servile adulation, strung their harps, to celebrate, with reproachful melody, their country's fall.

Mindful of the injunction in the pope's bull, Henry now convened, at Cashel, a national synod of the Irish clergy. The bishop of Lismore presided, as apostolical legate. The enormities, it is said, and the foul practices

of

^u Giral. Cam. c. 30, 31, 32. Gerv.

^v Ibid.

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of the nation, were laid before the council, when several canons were made, and ratified by the king, for the due celebration of regular and orderly marriages; for the instruction and baptism of infants; for the payment of tithes, which till then had not been practised; for the exemption of churches from the exactions of the laity; for establishing the immunities of the clergy in criminal causes; for regulating wills and burials; and finally, for establishing an entire conformity in divine worship, and all matters relating thereunto, between England and Ireland. The prelates then swore allegiance to Henry and his heirs, and confirmed his perpetual power over them; which deed was afterwards sanctioned by the pope, to whom he transmitted all the instruments of the transaction. The number of prelates in Ireland, were four archbishops, and twenty nine bishops. It was observed, that the archbishop of Armagh alone was not present, prevented by age and infirmity, a man reputed holy by the people, whose companion, in all his journeys, was a white cow, the milk of which was his only food^w.

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Having gone thus far towards the reformation of Ireland, and made the clergy his friends by a grant of favours, and of such immunities as he had laboured to take from their brethren in England, Henry left Dublin, not doubting but his presence on the continent would soon be necessary. For five successive months, so tempestuous had been the season, that not a ship had arrived with any certain intelligence. But at Wexford, to which he moved, news was brought, that two legates were in Normandy, with impatience waiting

^w Girald. c, 33, 34. Hoveden. Gervas. ut sup.

waiting his return. To have previously settled on a firmer basis the government of his new kingdom, was a business of great concern ; but stay longer he could not. Hugh de Lacy, therefore, he appointed justiciary of Ireland, with the government of the royal city of Dublin, and he granted to him, at the same time, by the prerogative of a conqueror, the whole kingdom of Meath, to be held in vassalage of himself and successors. The design of this vast donation was, to balance the power of Strongbow, whose ambition he feared, and who remained in possession of the principality of Leinster. Fitzstephen, Fitzgerald, Raymond, and other principal officers, he took into his own service ; he appointed confidential noblemen to the government of the maritime towns ; he ordered castles to be built ; and taking leave of Ireland, he sailed, on Easter Monday, and landed in South Wales. Some disturbances in this country, and affairs in England could not detain him : but he hastened to Portsmouth, with the young king, his son, and crossed the channel*.

Albert and Theodine, the legates, met him with his court at the abbey of Savigni, near Avranches. Much was said ; and the cardinals proposed an oath, which he rejected : “ I have business in Ireland,” said the king, leaving them with indignation, “ to which I will return : go, “ where you please, through my territories, and execute “ your legation.” But, a few days after, every difference was removed, and he agreed to all their terms. In the presence then of a great assembly, the young king and the legates standing round, the conqueror of Ireland, with his

The king is
reconciled to
Rome.

* Girald. Hoveden.

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hand on the gospels, swore ;—That he had not ordered, nor desired, the death of the primate ; that the news of it had excited in him the deepest affliction ; but that, as the violence of his expressions had given occasion to the wicked deed, he did not excuse himself, and would submit to the proposed atonement. He promised to maintain two hundred knights, during one year, in the holy land ; himself to take the cross, for three years, and to go in person to Palestine, or against the Saracens in Spain, unless dispensed with by his holiness. He promised to annul the statutes of Clarendon, and such evil customs, as, in his time, had been introduced against the church ; to allow appeals to be made to Rome ; to restore to Canterbury the possessions which had been seized ; and to be reconciled to all those, who, for the primate's sake, had incurred his displeasure. A solemn absolution was then pronounced by the legates.—The excommunicated bishops had, before this, been absolved ; and only that no successor to the see of Canterbury was yet chosen, a prospect of returning concord seemed to promise better days to the church, and more happiness to the prince. The murderers of Becket even partook of the general indulgence, who, having remained some time in the north of England, under public execration, withdrew to Rome, whence, in expiation of their crime, they were sent to Jerusalem.*

View of affairs on the continent.

Since the year 1168, the connection of domestic affairs has been such, that, with propriety, I could not break their tissue : fortunately, however, no event of peculiar moment succeeded on the continent. We left Frederic just

* Acta Alex. ep. 82. Gerv. Hoved. an. 1172.

* Neubrig. Hoved.

just retired, with ignominy, into Germany; the states of Lombardy strengthening their confederacy; and Alexander at Beneventum^a.—The politics of France went along with those of England.

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Frederic, for some time, remained in Germany, attentive to the aggrandizement of his family; and the concerns of Italy were entrusted to his ministers. At Bamberg, in a general diet, he caused his son, Henry, to be chosen king of the Romans, and conferred on his other children, or prepared for them, the acquisition of such territories and great fiefs, as his extensive influence could command. He sent Everhard, bishop of the mentioned city, on an embassy to the pontiff, hoping, it seems, to seduce him from the confederacy, and thereby to weaken it. The pontiff saw through the insidious project, and was not imposed on^b. The archbishop of Mentz was then employed to strengthen the imperial interest; and he left nothing unattempted, between Pisa and the gates of Rome; which could give efficacy to his schemes^c.—The Lombards were aware, that the great enemy would soon return, and they prepared to meet him. Milan, by incessant labours, nearly repaired her ruins, and encompassed with a new wall her vast circumference. Even the ladies, in the general enthusiasm, forgot their dearest attachments, and sacrificed their jewels to the work. No city of the confederacy was inactive; while the emperor of the east, with an eye to the object he vainly held in view, gave his name to the league.—Alexander had not yet returned to Rome, excluded by the imperial faction, and by the dislike which the senate, prin-

^a Murat. an. 1169.

^b A &ta Alex. an. 1170.

^c Murat. ut sup.

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cipally, had entertained against an ecclesiastical governor. I related the origin of that dislike^d. He resided, therefore, in the territories of his Sicilian majesty, or in the Campania of Rome, unmoved by opposition, and by a steady policy, gaining the ascendancy which his virtues merited. Callixtus, the antipope, was but a nominal rival, to whom Frederic, with a childish pertinacity, still gave support.

Such, at this period, was the general aspect. But the opening of a melancholy series again calls us to the concerns of Henry. — Reconciled to the fee of Rome, which, till now, had caused him many troubles; in peace with all his neighbours, and possessed of another kingdom, from what quarter could he fear controul, much less the cruel downfall of his fondest expectations? A numerous progeny of sons and daughters gave a lustre to his crown; and their several establishments seemed planned, with a consummate wisdom, to prevent jealousy, and to perpetuate the greatness of his family. Henry, his eldest son, he had named his successor in the kingdom of England, the dutchy of Normandy, and the earldoms of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine: Richard, his second son, would possess the dutchy of Guienne, and the county of Poitou: Geoffrey, his third son, in right of his wife, inherited the dutchy of Bretagne; and Ireland, newly conquered, was destined, it seems, for John, his fourth son. But the very prospect, which threw a meridian blaze round the throne of Henry, excited the jealousy of his neighbours, and into the breasts of those very sons infused a poison, which, in the state, would generate the miseries of civil discord, and dash their father's days with bitterness.

At

^d Hist. of Abeil. p. 351.

At the instigation of the legates, the young king had again been crowned at Winchester, and with him his consort Margaret. It was to gratify Louis, whom the former omission had irritated, the archbishop of Rouen, performing the ceremony. They returned, soon afterwards, into Normandy, and visited the French court. Louis, at no time a cordial friend to Henry, and whom the view of his increasing greatness more alarmed, soon discovered in the aspiring mind of his son-in-law, dispositions, which might be turned to political advantage. He suggested to him, that his coronation had been, indeed, an idle ceremony; that the homely appearance of his train ill befitted the name he bore; and that to be a king without a kingdom might flatter the ambitious parent, but it demeaned the son. "Demand," said he, "the realm of England, or the dukedom, at least, of Normandy." The high-spirited youth, whose ambition wanted no spur, and whom dependence had begun to gall, listened to the remonstrance.—I am not disposed to think, that the benevolent monarch, whom I have often praised, at all meant to provoke rebellion, or that he foresaw the flame, which his imprudent words now kindled. It was not long, however, before the young king made the demand, which had been suggested, and which the father refused.

It was after Christmas, which Henry and the royal family kept at Chinon in Anjou, that he proceeded with his court into Auvergne, to meet the earl of Savoy. A treaty of marriage was to be proposed between John, Henry's youngest son, not yet in his eighth year, and the earl's eldest daughter.

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Henry's sons.

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daughter. Queen Eleanor accompanied her husband, and the princes Richard and Geoffrey, and the young king. Highly honourable were the offers, which the earl made with his daughter, and they were gladly accepted. In return, the king proposed to settle on his son the three important castles of Mirebeau, Chinon, and Loudun, with their dependencies. To this the young king refused his signature; and the court returned in gloom and irritation. Eleanor, born to be the scourge of kings, whom Henry, we are told, had neglected, and whose temper would ill brook neglect, seized the fatal moment. She meditated revenge; and she could have it, by fomenting the passions of her son, and by urging him to vindicate, without delay, the neglected honours of his station. To engage in the same foul mutiny, the artful woman induced her two youngest sons; and herself promised to follow the standard of rebellion, and by all her influence to support it.

In the night, from the town of Limoges, where the court halted, young Henry withdrew precipitately, and escaped to his father-in-law at Chartres. His brothers soon joined him; but Eleanor, disguised in the habit of a man, was taken, and committed to close confinement. Only the infant John remained. And so widely had the contagion spread, that many noblemen hourly deserted their royal master, from a strange instability in the human heart, preferring the uncertain issue of a base rebellion, with all its infamy, if successful, to the fair favours of a sovereign, who had rewarded all their services. The heart of Henry was not broken by the afflicting scene. He had pursued his

his son as far as was expedient ; but when he saw, what his intentions were, he turned indignantly, and lost not another moment. He visited his castles on the frontier of France, and those in Normandy, ordering all necessary repairs ; and he sent letters into England, and into the provinces, with instructions to the governors.

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Young Henry, mean while, in the French king's court, received the flattering homage of his admirers ; and as the tide swelled ; the prospect of a happy revolution seemed to open round him. Into every quarter agents were sent ; largefesses, rewards, and honours, were profusely promised ; and the dazzling virtues of youth were placed, in odious competition, with whatever defects, either malevolence or disappointment had noted in the character of the old king. So now he was called, though not yet in his fortieth year. The defection became incredible, not only where immediate protection might instigate ; but in England and the distant provinces. Louis then summoned a council to meet him at Paris, where all the parties, under a solemn oath, bound themselves in mutual confederacy ; and so shameless was the avidity of men, whose virtues hitherto had commanded admiration, that, availing themselves of the prodigality of a simple youth, they would barter their fame for promises, which to make, or to accept, was alike inglorious. Philip, earl of Flanders, and his brother of Boulogne, and the earl of Blois, took grants of lands and castles in England, and some in Touraine and Normandy ; and in return, did homage to the pageant boy. Similar donations were made to several other French noblemen ; and

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and in England, the great barons renounced their allegiance, in the base prospect of change or rapine. The king of Scotland and his brother espoused the rebellion, to whom were promised three English counties.—Thus did the storm collect, and from its rapid motion it became evident, that the train of discord had been some time sown, and nourished. Intestine war, with all its horrors threatened ; and the winter passed in dreadful preparation^b.

Progress of
the war.

Henry, in astonishment, saw the perils of his situation. He could not avert the evil ; and every hour brought him more alarming accounts of some new defection. Pious men called it the visitation of heaven, for the murder of Becket ; while others, with more philosophy, viewed it as an event, easily accounted for, on the common principles of human nature^c. Seeing, therefore, that he could place no certain confidence in his own subjects, he resolved to counteract their disloyalty ; and, if possible, by securing his possessions and his own person, not to shrink from his enemies, to animate his friends, and to check the fall of those whose allegiance wavered. He took into his pay twenty thousand mercenaries, a formidable body of veteran troops, called Brabanters, because originally from that country ; and who, attached to no particular soil, were always ready to serve those, who could pay them best. With these he secured the most important posts on the frontier ; and retiring with the main body to the capital of Normandy, he there watched, with the composure of a great mind, the first movements of the enemy.

^b Anstors sup.^c Neubrig. c. 27.

With the coming of spring, the confederated armies moved. The count of Flanders and his brother, entering Normandy on the side of Picardy, besieged Aumale, which they took; and advancing, with their mighty engines, sat down before Neuchatel,<sup>BOOK III.
1173.</sup> which soon surrendered. But here that brother, stricken by an arrow, fell, and with him all the fond hopes of a great succession. He was heir to Flanders. The earl contemplated the disaster as a divine judgment, and retired with his Flemings, imputing all the guilt to himself, who, to support an unnatural son, had made war against a prince, his near kinsman, who had conferred many favours on himself, and never done him any wrong^k.—At the time, Louis and the young king were before Verneuil, on the other confine, a town of singular construction, composed of three distinct burghs. Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp defended the principal burgh, on which the main attack was made. But at the end of a month, provisions failing, they were so far reduced as to promise a surrender, if, within three days, they were not relieved. Relief came. For Henry, who till now, had not moved from Rouen, informed of their distress, marched with all his forces, and on the third day appeared in order of battle on the heights near Verneuil. The French, vain of their numbers and the gorgeous equipment of their army, ridiculed the parade of battle, and sent a bishop and an abbot to learn, what was his serious purpose. “ Tell your king,” said he, with a thundering voice, “ that this moment I am with him.” The bold defiance alarmed the haughty enemy, and they were induced to propose a

^k Neubrig. c. 28.

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conference, to which Henry consented, and a truce for one day was agreed on. But an act of perfidy disgraced that day; for the French, availing themselves of the suspension of arms, summoned the garrison to surrender, agreeably to the convention; and entering the town they set fire to it, and in the evening departed. With rage Henry saw himself thus duped. He pursued the retiring enemy, seized their baggage, entered Verneuil which he commanded to be repaired, and retired, the next day, with his Brabanters, heavily laden with a vast booty, which the enemy had left behind them¹. — He then dispatched his brave mercenaries into Bretagne, which was in arms. In a pitched battle they fought, and defeated, the rebels; the leaders of whom, Hugh earl of Chester, and the baron de Fougeres, escaped to the castle of Dol. Here they were besieged; and Henry, with an arrow's swiftness, arriving before it, they surrendered to his mercy, nearly a hundred nobles, the flower and strength of Bretagne. The province, with its castles, soon returned to obedience. This was in August^m.

The flow of unexpected success abashed the rebel forces, and a conference, by the mediation of the pope's legate, was proposed. They met on the borders: Louis, with the three brothers, and a splendid train of vassals; and the English monarch, not less nobly attended. With parental goodness, Henry offered terms of great advantage to his sons: to the eldest, half of the revenues of England, or of Normandy, as might please him best, with a suitable number of castles to reside in: and to Richard and Geoffrey, similar conditions in Bretagne and Aquitaine; “reserving

“ to

" to himself the right of sovereignty and the administration of justice." The reservation, probably, displeased Louis; for he rejected the terms, and the conference endedⁿ.

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The flames of civil discord, with equal fury, raged in England, the young earl of Leicester heading the rebellion. Richard de Lucy, justiciary of the realm, and the earl of Cornwall besieged the town; which bore his name, and had taken it, when news came, that the Scottish king, in savage force, had entered England, and had marched, with horrid devastation, to the gates of Carlisle. De Lucy, with what troops he had, instantly turned northward, and was joined by the lord high constable, Humphrey de Bohum. The plunderers heared of their approach, and retired to Scotland, into which they were pursued, and the English army ravaged Lothian, with impunity. But a messenger brought intelligence, that the earl of Leicester, with an army of Flemings, had landed in the east, where Hugh Bigot had received him into his castle of Framlingham, renowned for its thirteen towers and wide enclosure. Alarmed at the news, they proposed a truce to the king of Scotland, which, ignorant of their motive, he accepted, and they returned. By this time, the rebel army had taken Norwich; but had failed in their attempt on Dunwich, then a celebrated and opulent town on the coast. Bigot was tired of his guests, and he requested the earl to remove them to his own castles. He complied reluctantly, and was on his march towards Leicester, when he heared, that the loyal Bohum, with the earls of Cornwall, Arundel, and

ⁿ Hoveden.

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Gloucester, intercepted his route, and were at Saint Edmundsbury, arrayed to meet him. An action was inevitable; for the royal army soon appeared, the banner of St. Edmund waving in the van. The same moment saw the conflict begin and terminate; so irresistible, on the plain, was the shock of the royal cavalry. The earl and his countess, with most of the Flemish horsemen, were taken; and of the foot very few escaped the sword^a.—A truce with Louis succeeded, and the armies retired to winter-quarters.

Though Henry had been intent on the best means of defence, he had not neglected the auxiliary arms of the church. Feelingly he implored the aid of Alexander, against his rebellious children; and to animate his zeal, “he acknowledged himself his vassal, and called England “the patrimony of Peter^p.” So had misfortunes humbled, and deranged, it seems, his reason! The mediation of the legates was the consequence of this address; for the pontiff, where Louis interfered, could not take a more active part.—Other bishops also attempted the christian work of reconciliation, by letters to the young king and to Eleanor, but without success^q.

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In adjusting plans, and preparing for a new campaign, the gloomy winter passed. The earl of Flanders was again prevailed on to join the confederacy, and he agreed to invade England, in conjunction with young Henry: the Scots would enter the northern counties of England: and Louis, aided by the rebel dukes of Bretagne and Aquitaine, undertook to carry his arms into Henry's French dominions.—The truce expired with the easter holidays; when
the

^a Ausentes ut sup.^p Pet. Blefs. ep. 136.^q Id. ep. 33, 154.

the furious Scot poured his barbarians into Northumberland, which having laid waste, he advanced into Westmoreland, and again besieged Carlisle. Roger de Mowbray joined him. BOOK III.
1174. Him the gallant Geoffrey, elected bishop of Lincoln, natural son of Henry and of Rosamond de Clifford, at the head of his vassals, and the loyalists of Yorkshire, had expelled from his castles; and he prepared to succour Carlisle. The king of Scotland retreated, and sat down before Alnwick.—But, in other parts of the kingdom, the prospect was more alarming. In the east, a body of Flemings, the precursors of the grand invasion, had joined Hugh Bigot; and the earl of Derby, with the brother of the Scottish monarch, the earl of Huntingdon, and the adherents of Leicester, awed the midland provinces. De Lucy every where opposed the rebels, and cheared the hearts of his loyal friends; but he was aware, should the young king land, that his presence alone, in the wavering state of politics, would inevitably turn the scale. The prudent minister took the advice of his associates; when it was resolved to implore the immediate return of his majesty^r.

Richard of Ivelchester, archdeacon of Poitiers, elected to the see of Winchester, was chosen to the commission. He found his master on the frontier of Normandy, returned from pacifying the provinces of Maine, Anjou, and Aquitaine, and then consulting with his friends and the governors of his towns and castles, how best to defend them against the mighty arms of the enemy. Henry listened to the pressing entreaty, and instantly complied: indeed, for some time, a fleet at Barfleur had been prepared for the emergency.

^r Dicet. Höved. Neubrig. an. 1174.

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emergency. Nor was there a moment to be lost; for the earl of Flanders and young Henry were then lying at Gravelines, waiting only for the wind, which might land them, with all their forces, on the English shore. He took with him Eleanor, and Margaret his son's queen, and his infant children, and the most considerable of his prisoners; and on the 8th of July, early in the morning, failed. But a gale rose, and the sea grew rough, and the countenances of the mariners shewed hesitation and dismay. The king, raising his eyes to heaven, audibly said: “ If the supreme ruler, by my arrival, hath ordained to restore that peace to my people, which is my only wish, may he mercifully bring me to a port of safety: but if his face is turned away, and he hath resolved to visit them in his wrath, may I never be permitted to reach England's shore.” He arrived, that evening, in the harbour of Southampton.

^{*}Henry visits
the tomb of
Becket.

More than three years had elapsed, since the murder of the primate, a period replete with wonders, which contemporaries beheld with the pleasing emotions of a devout reverence, and we review with a fastidious sneer. So discordant are the habits of man, which vary with the varying scene; while throughout they are but a part of that progressive system, which the lapse of ages, as they roll on, perpetually evolves.—The circumstances of Becket's death were peculiarly striking; and the age was disposed to receive the whole impression, and in receiving to exalt it. The appearance of miracles was to them no uncommon phenomenon. They attested, they thought, the sanctity of the living; and they blazed more conspicuously from their graves.

* Diceto ut sup.

graves. A competent knowledge of the laws, by which nature acts, was not at hand to unravel the mystery: the ruler of the universe, they persuaded themselves, took pleasure in this palpable display of power: religion, it seemed to them, daily called for the invigorating support: and the criticism of the times, too credulous because too unenlightened, was unapt as their philosophy, in the examination of witnesses, and the discussion of facts. The churchmen also, who then possessed the greatest knowledge, were themselves more than ever interested to believe the attestation of their senses, and to propagate, among the people, the happy illusion. In the vindication of their privileges, the primate had spilt his blood. That they meant to deceive, is most foreign from my mind to insinuate; but, I believe, they were themselves, by no voluntary act, imposed on; and elsewhere, if not here, I trust, I have accounted for it¹. The virtues of the primate were conspicuous in his life; but for their further display, or to enforce their imitation, can we be induc'd to think, that an almost uninterrupted suspension of the laws of nature would be deemed expedient, as the credulous devotion of many, bending round his tomb, should, in simplicity of heart, call for it?

Curious to a philosophic mind is the account which historians, present on the spot, or not distant from it, give of the events that immediately succeeded to the primate's death. They describe them as opening, in an humble prelude, at his tomb; then spreading to all parts of the church; extending through the kingdom; filling the world.

Every

¹ Life of Abel. p. 183.

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Every infirmity, they say, gave way to the power of his name. Even the dead were raised to life. But in the number of these miracles, then recorded in two volumes, some are so trivial and ludicrously sportive, that, while we admire the credulity of the narrator, a suspicion involuntarily rises, that their more serious and solemn facts were too lightly assumed, to merit impartial belief. The wax-tapers round his bier being extinguished, were invisibly relighted! As he lay dead in the choir, he raised his right hand, and blessed the assembly!^u His eyes being injured by the wounds, they were replaced by others of a smaller size, and of two different colours, that the miracle might be out of the reach of controversy!^v Birds and other animals recovered life!^w—But the fame of these wonders reached every ear: the enemies of Becket, in confusion, acknowledged the atrocity of their conduct; and his friends exulted, while every lane, that led to Canterbury, swelled with the concourse of pilgrims, hastening to his tomb. The contagion spread abroad; and every devout man, listening to his neighbour's tale, envied the happiness of England. The Roman bishop, by messenger after messenger, was entreated to enroll the blessed martyr in the calendar of saints, and to give him to the prayers of the faithful. Alexander was a wary and prudent man; and though the cause of the martyr was his own, and he could now sanctify all its pretensions, he was not willing, without some deliberation, to precipitate the solemn ceremony. But when his legates returned, who had more immediately

witnessed

^u Ep. Senon. 33. ap. Hoved.^v Girald. Camb. c. 20.^w Mat. Par. p. 121.

witnessed the various facts, and vouched their reality, he could no longer procrastinate. He assembled a consistory, took their advice, and in great pomp pronounced the canonization of the martyr, Thomas*. BOOK III.
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The fact was recent, and its celebrity engaged the public attention, while the unnatural rebellion raged, which I have described. With superstition or a mistaken piety, the violation, it seems, of obvious duties can, sometimes, associate, and raise no horror! Henry, though absolved from the crime he had occasioned, was not yet free from odium: the conquest of Ireland had silenced the malevolence of religious zeal; but it now broke out again, and even good men thought, they saw the hand of divine justice pressing on him. Himself could not be insensible to the afflicting circumstance; and he felt poignantly the cruel usage of his children and nearest friends, which his conduct had not merited. The signs of heavenly approbation, which attested the sanctity of the primate, would likewise reproach his heart; for he, no more than others, could not withstand an evidence which a cloud of witnesses proclaimed. To join the public voice, and by joining it to appease the anger of heaven, he might seriously deem an act of religious duty: but if thereby he might recover the lost affections of his people, policy would applaud the measure, and the disastrous state of things called for every exertion. In these sentiments, Henry landed at Southampton, and he purposed immediately to visit the tomb of Becket.

On the morrow, which was Tuesday, in the month of July, leaving the queens, and his brave mercenaries to

* Baron. an. 1173.

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proceed onward, he mounted his horse, and with a few attendants, took the way to Canterbury. But it was Friday morning, before he came in sight of the tower of Christ-church, which he beheld, and dismounting, he laid aside his garments, threw over his shoulders a woollen rug, and walked on, silent and pensive. The distance was three miles ; and as he entered the city before the people, the stones, as his bare feet pressed them, were marked with blood. He came to the church ; and they shewed him the martyr's shrine, which he approached trembling, and fell prostrate on the ground. With his arms extended, here he remained in prayer, while Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, harangued the crowded audience, solemnly protesting, in his master's name ; “ that he had not commanded, nor advised, nor by any artifice contrived, the primate's death ; but as his words, too inconsiderately spoken, had occasioned the fatal act, he again begged absolution, and would submit himself to punishment.” —The bishops, who were present, followed by some abbots, the clergy, and the whole convent of monks, in number eighty, each with a knotted cord in his hand, then advanced to the spot where the monarch prayed. He bared his shoulders, and received their lashes, five from the bishops, and three from every other hand. Resuming his prayers, in the same attitude of humble supplication, he continued on the pavement, many watching round him, till the midnight bell tolled for matins ; and when these were finished, he rose, visited the altars of the upper church and the bodies of the saints there interred, and again descended to the shrine. But the morning began to dawn,

dawn, when he requested mass might be said; at which he assisted; and having assigned, with other rich gifts, a revenue of forty pounds a year, for tapers to be kept burning round the body of the saint, he drank some water mingled with his blood, and with a smiling and joyous countenance withdrew.—On the next day he reached London.

But though the pressure of his affairs called for immediate exertions, here he was detained. Fatigue of many days, and the peculiar circumstances of his late pilgrimage, had brought on an indisposition, which repose only could remove. As, one night, he slept in his palace, suddenly a messenger arrived, and knocked at the gates. The guards commanded silence; but he knocked more violently: “I have good news,” he called out, “which the king must hear immediately.” They admitted him; and, with the same importunity, passing the gentlemen of the bedchamber, he entered to the king, and wakened him. “Who art thou?” said his majesty, surprised by the sudden noise.—“I am the servant of Ranulph de Glanville,” replied he; “fent with good tidings to your highness.”—“Is my loyal Ranulph well?” rejoined Henry.—“My master is well,” said he: “and lo! he has your enemy, the Scottish king, now in chains at Richmond.”—“Repeat it;” said the king, overpowered by the news. The messenger repeated his words,—“Have you any letters?” then demanded Henry. The messenger produced a letter, which, when the king had cursorily perused, he sprang from his bed; and, as the tears ran down his cheeks, he gave thanks to him, whose will alone

*The Scottish king taken,
and the rebellion in Eng-
land suppressed.*

• Dicet. Gerv. Hoveden. Neubrig. ut sup.

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worketh wonders. He called his friends round him, and told them the tidings. In the morning other couriers came; the news was given to the people; and the bells of London rang with gladness².—The particulars of the event were briefly these.

The king of Scotland, it has been said, was before Alnwick; and as the loyalists had retired, he continued the blockade unmolested, and sent off detachments to desolate the neighbouring country. Secure from attack, he indulged the savage warfare, and heared the reports of his soldiers, when, with bloody hands, they related the achievements of the day. But the Yorkshire barons were roused, and forming themselves into a body of four hundred knights, under Ranulph de Glanville, sheriff of their county, they advanced to Newcastle. Here they learned the state of the Scottish forces, and resolved to proceed, though no prospect of success could flatter them, from the disproportionate power of the enemy. They rose before the sun, and advanced rapidly, enveloped in a dark mist. But this circumstance, which was propitious, alarmed the more cautious; and they halted, uncertain of the road, and wavering in their resolution. "Return who will," exclaimed Bernard de Baliol, a baron of noble blood, "no retreat shall stain my honour, and I will proceed alone." They advanced; when the mist suddenly broke, and the castle of Alnwick appeared, in near view, before them. The Scottish monarch also soon appeared, surrounded by a troop of about sixty horsemen, secure on the plain, and busied in feats of chivalry. He observed their approach; but thought

² Neubrig. c. 34.

thought them his own men returning with plunder, till the English banner struck his sight. He was amazed, but not daunted; for he could not doubt, but so weak a band must be soon overpowered by his multitudes. Wherefore, fiercely shaking his spear, he called gallantly to his followers, and rushed foremost to the attack. The English knights met the shock: William's horse, pierced to the heart, fell; and the noble prey was seized. With him most of the troop surrendered, for they did not attempt to escape; and other nobles coming up, gave themselves to the enemy, that they might join their lord in his calamity. The victorious party returned with their captives, and lodged the royal prisoner in the castle of Richmond^a.—It was remarked, that this event happened, on the morning, Henry rose from before the primate's shrine! —The Scottish army, on the news of the disaster, retired precipitately.

Henry, without more delay, left London, and marched towards Huntingdon, which, with its castle, surrendered. David, prince of Scotland, who commanded the rebel forces in that quarter, hearing of his brother's captivity, had withdrawn to his own country. The king then advanced into Suffolk, against Hugh Bigot. The rebel lord, on his approach, though strongly supported by his own vassals and an army of Flemings, lost heart. He suppliantly met the king; was pardoned; and delivered to him his castles of Framlingham and Bungay. But it was with difficulty, that he obtained permission for his Flemish auxiliaries to return to their looms.—Fortune once more smiled; and Henry led his army to the royal castle of Northampton.

Hither

^a Neubrig. c. 33.

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Hither was brought the monarch of Scotland, William, surnamed the Lion, bound, like a felon, on his horse! If the regal dignity felt the insult; his lust of blood, and the cause he had wantonly espoused, merited the degrading treatment. — Then the earl of Leicester surrendered his castles; and the bishop of Durham, who had favoured the rebellion, and Roger de Mowbray, and de Ferrars earl of Derby, submitted to mercy, and gave up their fortresses. The rebellion closed ^b.—So much had the captivity of Scotland's king, and the news, that the invasion from Flanders was suspended, unnerved the party. The presence also of Henry, whose piety, though mistaken, had, we may believe, pleased heaven, aided much the happy revolution. But he learned this lesson, that a licentious nobility will, at any time, rather rush into the horrors of civil war, than submit to the irksome controul of a vigilant administration.—Affairs on the continent calling him away, he left the queens behind him; and on the seventh of August, with his prisoners, his Brabanters, and a thousand Welshmen, sent by David ap Owen, embarking at Portsmouth, he landed at Barfleur, and marched towards the capital of Normandy ^c.

The siege of Rouen, which is followed by a general peace.

Rouen was besieged by the combined armies of France and Flanders; for when Henry landed in England, the scheme of an invasion dropt, and the young king, with the earl, led their Flemings to the siege. A mightier army, it is said, Europe had not seen since the last crusade, headed by kings, and furnished with every warlike implement. But Rouen could withstand their onset. It was garrisoned

^b Hoveden, Dicet. Gervas.

^c Hoveden.

garrisoned by the Norman nobility, who crowded to its defence, and by citizens, well trained to arms, hardy and magnanimous. Besides, it was assailable only on the north-eastern side, the Seine on the south, forbidding all approach, and the neighbouring hills, rising like nature's bulwarks. So the historian describes it. But so little understood was the art of sieges, that the navigation of the river was left free, and the communication with the country over Matilda's bridge, as unimpeded, as in time of peace; the enemy confining their assault to about the third part of the great circumference of the city. The vigorous efforts of the besiegers, (who had divided themselves into three bodies, advancing in rotation every eighth hour, that no moment of the natural day might surcease from labour) are well described; and the counteraction of the besieged, who by a similar division of forces, resisted and foiled their energy. On the feast of St. Laurence, the tenth of August, when the siege had lasted twenty days, Louis announced a suspension of arms, in honour of his favourite martyr. The citizens, with peculiar festivity, celebrated the day of rest. Their songs echoed in the streets, while the men at arms, issuing through the southern gate, lightly sprang towards the Seine, and tilted on its banks. From their lines, the enemy marked their sport, and felt the insult. I shall not relate the dishonourable proposal of the earl of Flanders, at this moment, to assault the walls, nor the silent preparations which ensued. I shall not relate the accidental discovery of this design, by some priests, from an elevated tower, nor the ringing of the alarm-bell, at which the enemy rushed, in thousands, from their lines, and the Normans, with the

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speed of lightning, rallied back to their posts. I shall not relate, that the walls were scaled, and shouts of victory were heared, when a conflict began, of direful obstinacy, and which the night only ended, whilst the ditches were filled with the slain and wounded, and the blood ran in torrents from the walls. Then the enemy retired in confusion to their camp^d.

Before this, the confederates had heared, that the king of Scotland was in chains, and that the rebellion in England was expiring: but they were not prepared to see, what their eyes, the next day, beheld, the English monarch himself, at the head of his army, marching over the plain, crossing the bridge, and entering the city in martial triumph. A damp' fell upon their hearts. But soon the Welsh infantry seized a convoy of forty waggons, loaded with provisions; and the northern gates were thrown open, that the king, with his cavalry, might act offensively against the enemy. Want of bread for two days, and the forlorn prospect before them, determined the confederates to raise the siege, which they did, before the twentieth day of the month, having burnt their machines and heavy implements^e. — In a few days, came the earl of Blois and the archbishop of Sens, with overtures of peace; and a conference was appointed to be held at Gisors, on the eighth of September.

Even the incendiaries of the war now desired to end it. Their enterprizes, in a manner unaccountable to human penetration, had miscarried, and the God of armies had seemed visibly to protect the injured rights of a parent.

Henry,

* Neubrig. c. 35.

* Hoveden. Dicet.

Henry, though a glorious revenge called him on to war, was disposed himself to check the tide of victory, and to embrace a peace, that would give him back his children. The kings met at Gisors; but duke Richard was absent in Poitou, insulting the castles and vassals of his father. It was, therefore, resolved to prolong the truce to Michaelmas, and Henry marched into Poitou. The stubborn youth, as he approached, retreated: but finding no succour would come, his iron heart relented; he waited on the king; he wept; he fell on his knees; and asked forgiveness. Henry forgave him; and they went together to the place of conference, between Tours and Amboise. Peace was concluded^f.

The terms were; That the three princes should return to their father and their allegiance, themselves free, and freeing all others, from the oaths of confederacy, they had taken: that a restitution of lands and castles, as they had been held, fifteen days before the rebellion, should be made on both sides: that the father should remit all displeasure against the rebels, and the young king also promise never to molest those, who had been faithful to his father. The king then settles two castles in Normandy on his son, to be chosen by himself, and a yearly revenue of fifteen thousand pounds in Angevin money; on Richard, two convenient places in Poitou, from which no mischief could arise, and half the revenues of the province; and on Geoffrey, half of the revenues of Bretagne, till his marriage with the daughter of Conan, with the consent of the Roman church, should entitle him to the whole. The princes then

^f Hoveden.

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gave security, that they would never, against their father's will, demand more than had now been stipulated; and would never withdraw from him their persons or services. Richard and Geoffrey did homage for their grants; but from Henry, on account of his royal dignity, it was not demanded^s.

The earl of Leicester, and the other great prisoners, were released, on terms of uncommon clemency: nine hundred and sixty-nine captive knights received their liberty without ransom: and of the few, who were detained in prison, not one suffered death! Such mercy had never before graced the annals of kings, and it gives a dignity to the age which beheld it. — Only William of Scotland, in the castle of Falaise, had not yet his liberty. But the Scotch nobles and prelates here resorted to him; and by their advice, it was finally agreed, to surrender the ancient independence of their crown, and to subject it to England. William, therefore, did homage to Henry, for the kingdom of Scotland, and for all his other territories, swearing fealty to him, as to his liege lord. The other articles being read, hostages were delivered for their more solemn ratification, on a future day, and William had liberty to return to his kingdom^h. — The arrangement of many concerns in the provinces, now engaged the attention of Henry.

Events, on which the historian loves to dwell, because his reader does, and because in both they excite affections to which pleasure is annexed, will, from this time, cease to adorn the reign of Henry. But the view of less turbulent scenes, than sieges, battles, victories, in the administration

^s Hoveden.^h Diceto ut sup.

stration of justice, in domestic arrangements, and the execution of laws, can surely raise some interest in the human breast? I will omit no circumstance that can inform, none that can portray manners, none that can develope the character or the politics of the age.

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Some distrust still subsisting between Henry and his eldest son, means were taken to remove it. He waited on his father at Bure, and with tears implored his forgiveness, in the presence of many nobles, who were his sureties, doing homage, as his brothers had done, and swearing, as was usual, on some relics of saints, that he would be ever faithful to him. This covenant was afterwards confirmed at Westminster. At Caen they were met by the earl of Flanders, who came to renew friendship with Henry, his conscience upbraiding him with its late infraction. And to atone for that guilt and the miseries he had brought on others, he had lately taken the cross, purposing, with an army, to depart for Palestine! The two kings then failed for England, and publicly to announce their love, they daily ate, say the historians, at the same table, and slept in the same bedⁱ.

1175.
Miscellaneous
Occurrences.

The new primate had convened a diocefian synod at Westminster. He had been prior of Dover. I did not relate the various disputes which preceded his election, nor the obstacles, thrown by the young king in its way, which compelled him to go into Italy, where he was consecrated by Alexander himself, and returned with legatine powers. He was a man of gentle manners, and by all parties well esteemed. The kings were present in the council,

ⁱ Diceto. Hoveden. an. 1175.

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and approved its canons, which were taken from those of other synods, or the decrees of popes, and principally tended to reform the manners of the clergy, and to suppress abuses.—In company of the primate, they then went to Canterbury, where Henry passed a second night in prayer, before the tomb of Becket.

But he who could pardon, with a godlike clemency, treason in his children and rebellion in his subjects, could not forgive lighter misdemeanours, which touched his favourite passion. During the war, the game in the royal forests had been destroyed, the gentlemen having hunted without restraint: but now all descriptions of men, by a most vexatious prosecution, were brought to trouble for this offence. They pleaded a general liberty, granted by the justiciary Richard de Lucy, and himself confirmed it, alledging, that he had been so ordered by Henry. The vindictive sportsman did not desist. A general inquisition was made on oath, and even *hear-say* evidence being admitted, the delinquents were punished by heavy amerements.^k That his coffers were empty, I believe; but it was unwarrantable and unkingly thus to replenish them. So true, however, it has, at all times, been, that when a few had arrogated to themselves a privilege, designed by providence to be enjoyed by all men, they have not desisted to maintain their usurpation by means, oppressive and nefarious. The forest-laws, it is allowed, were tyrannical. Our own game laws are as much so; nor will Englishmen be free, till they, with the manorial rights of lords, and other remains of the feudal system, be buried in the grave of their Norman parent.

In

^k Diceto. Hoveden. an. 1175..

In a progress through the kingdom, from his favourite palace of Woodstock, Henry was at Gloucester, where he settled some disturbances of South Wales; and at Nottingham, where he impleaded the destroyers of his deer; and at York, where the king of Scotland met him, with the great men of his land, laity and clergy, to fulfill the convention of Falaise. In the church of St. Peter, the nobles and bishops of both countries assisting, William renewed his liege homage to Henry and his son. The same was done by the bishops, abbots, and other clergy; and the barons swore allegiance for themselves and their heirs, adding that, should their king recede from his fealty, they would stand by Henry, as their lord, against all his enemies¹. — The surrender was complete; and Henry became king of Britain. That the Scottish nation, powerful in arms, high-minded, and ever hostile to England, should thus cheerfully, as it seems, for the ransom of their prince, have paid so high a price, is an event almost inexplicable: but we know not the secret measures which negotiated the transaction. The most probable conjecture is, that they dreaded the power of Henry, now free to revenge their late wanton insult, and preferred a submission, apparently voluntary, to the severer terms which a conqueror might dictate.

A new treaty of settlement was also made with Ireland. Since Henry had let it, as might be expected, disturbances had ensued, occasioned by the depredations which the English committed, by impatience of a foreign yoke, and by the hope, which the rebellion in England daily animated, of recovering their independence: for the chiefs, whose

presence

¹ Dicet. Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 37. Chron. de Mailros.

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presence they most dreaded, were themselves called away to aid the royal cause. But nothing succeeded. There was no union in their plans. And soon Strongbow returned; and the brave Raymond, now the soldier's friend, whether for spails or glory, had opened new conquests, by the taking of Limerick, and other achievements^m. In despair of success, Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, sent his ministers to Henry, who found him at Windsor, about the time of Michaelmas; and there, in a council of the nation, articles of a more specific convention were ratified. — Henry grants to his liegeman Roderic, as long as he shall faithfully serve him; that he be a king under him, and paying him tribute, to hold his territories, as he had held them before Henry came into Ireland. The inhabitants, likewise, are quietly to possess their lands, so long as they remained faithful to the king of England, and paid him their tribute and his other rights, through the hands of the Irish king. The tribute is a hide, saleable for the merchant, from every tenth beast killed in Roderic's territories, or in other lands, to be paid annually. But in the demesnes of Henry and those of his barons, Roderic has no concern. These are Dublin and its appurtenances; Meath and all its appurtenances; Wexford and the kingdom of Leinster; and Waterford with the adjacent countryⁿ. — In this loose manner, which argues no fixed system of policy, was the government of Ireland settled. When the ancient independence of the realm was broken, by the introduction of a foreign sovereignty, it was more than expedient, surely, on the ruins of the old form, to have erected a new fabric

of

^m Girald. Camb. l. ii. c. 8. &c.ⁿ Hoveden. an. 1175.

of legislation, and to have established an executive power, that might and would have been willing, to compel submission. Events will shew, how weakly the whole was planned.

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Soon afterwards, in an assembly at Northampton, regulations were made in the internal polity of England. It was agreed to divide the country into six circuits, in each of which three itinerant justices or judges were appointed, to hear and determine criminal and civil causes ; and from whom an oath was taken to observe, and cause to be observed, the several ordinances then enacted. These ordinances or statutes are said to be those of Clarendon ; but they are not those which excited the controversy, nor do they regard ecclesiastical matters. Many of them were only calculated to redress the disorders, occasioned by the late commotions ; and others referred to civil property, and the criminal justice of the realm. Of the last description one is peculiarly curious. If any one, it says, is arraigned before the king's justices of murder, or theft, or robbery, or of receiving any such malefactors, or of forgery, or of malicious burning of houses, by the oath of twelve knights of the hundred, or, in their absence, by the oath of twelve free and lawful men, or by the oath of four men of every town of the hundred, he shall be sent to the water ordeal, and if convicted, shall lose one of his feet. To which the statute of Northampton adds, that he shall likewise lose a hand, and abjuring the realm, go out of it, within forty days. If acquitted by the ordeal, he shall find sureties, and stay in the kingdom, unless he had been arraigned of murder, or any heinous felony, by the community of the county and of

the

1176.

BOOK III.

1176.

the legal knights of his country: in which case, though acquitted by the ordeal, he shall leave the realm within forty days, taking with him his chattels, and remain at the king's mercy.^o—The Roman church had in vain striven to suppress these absurd trials; and here we see them solemnly sanctioned, with clauses of palpable injustice, by a statute of the English nation in council assembled!

Cardinal Huguzon, a legate from the pope, whom Henry had particularly requested, had been some months in England. Tired of his queen, whom he also viewed as a principal agent in the late rebellion, he sought for a divorce. The secrets of the negotiation have not transpired; but no divorce was obtained. Huguzon, however, was not idle. He visited the churches, exercising his superior jurisdiction, and gaining the odium of the clergy, by permitting the king to prosecute them, for having hunted in his forests. A synod was then summoned to meet him at Westminster. I shall not detail the scandalous scene, which ensued between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, for the right of precedence; in which the latter was wounded, and whereby the Italian legate was so alarmed, that he retired precipitately, and soon left a country which, by his venal and servile conduct, he had disgusted^p. But he took with him a letter from Henry to the Roman pontiff, which merits notice.—“Out of reverence to the holy see,” says he, “and to you, though the greatest and wisest men in my kingdom opposed the measure, at the intercession of your legate, I have granted the following ordinances:—“That no ecclesiastic, in future, shall be personally taken

“before

^o Hoveden. an. 1176.^p Hoveden. Gervais.

" before a secular judge, for any crime or transgression, BOOK III.
 " except against the forest-laws, or in the case of a lay fee,
 " for which secular service is due: that I will not retain in
 " my hands, beyond the term of one year, vacant bishop-
 " rics or abbeys, unless from urgent necessity or some evi-
 " dent cause: that every wilful and malicious murderer of a
 " clergyman, on conviction or confession before my justi-
 " ciary, besides the usual punishment for the murder of a
 " layman, shall suffer a forfeiture, for himself and for his
 " heirs, of all his inheritance for ever: that churchmen
 " shall not be compelled to any trials by duel."¹

Thus, by the royal prerogative alone, contrary to the declared sentiments of the *greatest and wisest men*, is that statute of Clarendon reversed, which, at the time, caused such general reclamation, and which, it was pretended, was amongst the *ancient usages* of the realm. I will also observe, how idle it is, in some modern historians, to talk of *acts of parliament*, or of a *system* of legislation, at a period, when our government was so precarious and undefined, that the will of the monarch alone, sometimes, constituted law, and, sometimes, a headstrong aristocracy checked its most salutary operations. — Trials by *duel* were a species of more honourable *ordeal*, then much resorted to, even in some civil suits, as well as in causes which appertained to the courts of chivalry. But their principle was as absurd as that of the vulgar ordeals, and equally incompetent to protect the rights of truth or innocence. To the shame of human reason, a practice which, at that time, we can say, sprang from the grossest ignorance, has still its votaries;

¹ Dicet. an. 1176.

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as if the present mode of vindicating honour were more rational, than it then was, to sit down on water, or to tread on burning ploughshares !

Henry's remaining daughters were, this year, married ; Eleanor, to Alphonso king of Castille, and Joan, to William king of Sicily, surnamed the *good* : an alliance effected by the mediation of Alexander, whose peculiar friend he was. Manuel Comnenus and Frederic Barbarossa had offered their daughters to William, and had been refused. He was partial to the English name, from an early impression made by Peter de Blois, who, for some time, had been his master, and whom he wished to retain in Sicily. Peter was now secretary to Henry, a man of much learning, and a principal agent in the transactions of the times.

John of Salisbury, whose name I have often mentioned, the secretary of Becket and his inseparable companion, was, about this time, by the choice of the chapter, and the earnest wishes of the French king, called to the see of Chartres. His learning, in every department of science, was uncommonly celebrated, and he has left it recorded in many works ; but his virtues were more conspicuous. The portrait he often draws of the Roman court, the excesses of which he had personally witnessed, proves, that he was as free to censure as to give praise, when the subject called for either¹. But it is too lightly asserted, that the influence of that court so far overpowered the minds of men, that they were awed into silence, and checked in their common operations. I have shewn that it was not so ; and now a fresh instance presents itself.—Vivian, another legate from

¹ Ep. Joan. Sarisb. passim.

from Alexander, soon followed Huguzon, with a commission for Scotland and Ireland. He landed at Dover, where, with Roman insolence, says the monkish historian, forcing himself into lodgings, he was soon compelled to demean himself more humbly, and to request admittance. But Henry, hearing of his arrival, sent two bishops to demand, by whose authority he dared, thus unlicensed, to enter the realm of England? The legate trembled: "I will do no-
" thing," said he, "and I swear it, against the will of
" your master." He was permitted to proceed; and the king granted him a safe conduct, and defrayed the expences of his journey into Scotland.—The power of Rome would not have overleaped the bounds, which religion and reason had fixed, had not princes, from views of interest and ambition, authorised its undue exercise, and themselves invited its worst excesses.

From what apprehensions, we know not; but, probably, from serious apprehensions of fresh tumults, Henry had demolished the castles of the late principal rebels in England and Normandy; and, still better to secure the continuance of peace, he had taken into his hands even the fortresses of those, who had never forfeited his favour, and garrisoned them with his own troops. The measure was arbitrary, though attempted, it seems, by the advice of his council! —And in March news came, that ambassadors from Alphonso, his son-in-law, king of Castille, and Sanchez king of Navarre, were arrived in his kingdom, to lay before him a controversy, which had long divided those princes, and distressed their people. It regarded territories, forcibly

1177.

• Gerv. Hoveden. ' Hovden.

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usurped on both sides. Henry assembled his great council at Westminster; before which the royal messengers appeared, attended by advocates to state the controversy, and to plead. Two Spanish champions had also come, to wait the issue of the trial, armed at all points, and prepared to enter the lists, should Henry ordain a combat. The pleas being reduced to writing, and interpreted, the council weighed the respective claims, and the gospels were produced. On them the ambassadors swore, that their masters should stand to the award of the English monarch, or themselves would surrender their persons to his power. Sentence was pronounced. It was: That as neither party denied the usurpations, alledged by the other to have been committed, the king and court decreed, that a full restitution should be made on both sides^u.

Agreeably to the fashion of the day, the earl of Flanders now came to pray at the tomb of Becket, previously to his departure for Palestine. Henry, as the terms of his reconciliation promised, had intimated an intention of accompanying the earl; but the concerns of his own government detained him. He sent money, however; and the earl, with many barons and knights, from this and other countries, departed.

Strongbow was dead; and the king had appointed William Fitz-Aldelm his successor in the lieutenancy of Ireland. But disorders continued, and the English had invaded Ulster and Connaught. Henry was now sensible, that more strength must be given to the Irish government; and he purposed to invest one of his sons with it, to be held, under himself

^u Hoveden. Gervas. an. 1177.

himself and his heirs, as a great hereditary fief. Yet John, the son of his choice, was an infant. In a council at Oxford, therefore, he declared his intention, (which the Roman bishop had also sanctioned,) and he made such new settlements of lands and honours, in Ireland, on many of his nobles, as should induce them to protect his present territories, till John might be of age to assume the reins of government. For these grants, homage was done to prince John and to himself*. — Thus was he employed, when a messenger arrived to inform him, that a cardinal legate was in France, with a mandate from his holiness, to put all his dominions under an interdict, unless he permitted his son Richard to marry the princess Adelais, whom, as designed for that prince, he had long had in his custody. Henry interposed an appeal to Rome, and passed into Normandy.

That the English monarch was himself in love with Adelais, there are strong reasons to suspect. Though marriageable, he still detained her in his court, and he had lately applied for a divorce from Eleanor. Louis, her father, it was, who, alarmed, probably, by the suspicious circumstances, now interfered, and implored the aid of Rome. The kings met at Ivri, in the presence of the legate, where Henry, by an artful policy, consented, that the match should be celebrated; but on terms of the surrender of Bourges to Richard, and of the French Vexin to the young king, with which Louis could not comply. The affair ended, and Adelais remained unmarried. Notwithstanding, a treaty of amity was then concluded, wherein

the

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the kings swear to take the cross, and together to proceed to Jerusalem, under the solemn stipulation, that each will defend, to the utmost of his power, the person, dignity, and dominions of the other^w. Palestine, indeed, then loudly called for succour.

Frederic defeated by the Lombards, puts an end to the schism.

In this year, closed the schism, which the emperor Frederic had so long upheld. Four years before, with a formidable army, he had entered Italy, the fifth time, and having taken some towns on his march, he besieged Alexandria, the name of which alone insulted all his pride. The confederates were prepared to receive him; and the new town, though surrounded only by a deep ditch, presented against his machines the noble spirit of freemen, well trained to arms, and amply supplied with provisions. The first attacks were vain; when the rains began to fall, and the plains were inundated. But Barbarossa would not move. It was the month of October, and he resolved to pass the winter in his tents. The winter proved remarkably severe; and when spring returned, he saw that disease and desertion had greatly thinned his army. Still he persisted, trusting much, for success, to a mine, which, unperceived by the enemy, he had carried towards the town. At this time, notice was given to the distant confederacy, that the provisions of the besieged began to fail. Instantly a powerful army marched to their relief, and advanced within ten miles of the German camp. The situation of Frederic was perilous: he had recourse, therefore, to the stratagem, we saw practised at Rouen, and, it being Thursday before Easter, proclaimed a suspension of arms till the following Monday.

Monday. In the silence of the night, two hundred chosen men entered the subterraneous passage, while Frederic, with his army, approached towards a gate, which soon, they expected, would be opened to them. The mine succeeded; but an alarm was given, and the citizens seizing their arms, in a moment, massacred the few who had entered. They did more. In their just fury, they threw open the gates, and rushed upon the enemy. The unexpected folly disconcerted the enemy. They fled; and Frederic, after having beheld the carnage of his men, the storming of his camp, and the burning of his own pavilion, himself set fire to the remaining engines, and precipitately retired. It was his intention, it seems, to gain Pavia; but the confederates faced him, and presented battle. In both armies, fortunately, there were men, to whom the effusion of blood was a scene of horror. These, at the critical moment, interfered, and an accommodation was effected, on the vague terms, that the rights of the empire should be preserved inviolate, on one side, and on the other, the freedom of the confederates. The partiality of the German historians, on this and other occasions, is glaring; but it will appear, how insincere was their emperor in the admission of a treaty, which the circumstances of his situation only forced upon him*.

The remainder of the year was spent in useless negotiations for a general peace, during which time, the imperial agents were secretly employed, in collecting an army, that might be ready to join Frederic, by the end of winter. With a suspicious eye the Lombards watched every motion, and

* Murat. an. 1175.

BOOK III. and easily penetrated the base design. Again they bound
themselves, by a solemn oath, to stand or fall together; and news was brought, that the German army was in motion, headed by the archbishops of Magdebourg and Cologne. They entered Italy by the lake of Como, when Frederic joined them. But though the army was numerous and well-appointed, he saw with pain, that Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whose aid he had implored, and on whom he most relied, was not with them. From Como they advanced on the road to Pavia, meaning to join the troops, that Frederic had left in that neighbourhood. But the confederates, whom it behoved to impede this junction, had already marched, with the *Carroccio*, (the sacred standard of Milan,) and they had halted between the Texin and Legnano. Soon the vanguards skirmished; which was the prelude to a memorable day, that must for ever enoble the annals of Lombardy, and which Milan annually celebrates. It was a Saturday, and the twenty-ninth of May. I shall not recount its carnage, nor its heroic deeds. Suffice it to say, that the Germans, overpowered by the tremendous phalanx, which embosomed the *carroccio*, finally gave way; and Lombardy was victorious. Frederic, whose single arm had achieved wonders, in the fury of the conflict, fell headlong from his horse, and was seen no longer. The butchery which ensued was great; the Texin devoured many; but more were taken prisoners. The whole plunder of the camp remained to the victors, and with it the emperor's military chest. He, in vain, was sought for amongst the dead. Days passed; and the empress, who had remained at Como, put on mourning. But, having escaped from the field,

field, Frederic had prudently absconded; and when no longer looked for, he suddenly appeared in Pavia, in health and unwounded; but without troops or any resource of war.^{1177.}

It is with pleasure that I see the tyrant humbled by men, who fought for liberty: and now it was, that he could listen, with a forced sincerity, to the advice of friends. They advised him to make peace, while the allies, perhaps, might be disposed to hearken to a treaty. Hereon, ambassadors were sent to Alexander, whom they found at Anagni.—“Peace,” said the pontiff to them, “has ever been my wish; but now I can receive no proposals, which shall not be grateful to my allies.” These were the king of Sicily and the confederated Lombards. A private negotiation, however, was opened, which, after many discussions, finally settled the mutual claims of the imperial court and the Roman see. But those of the confederates, in the absence of the parties, could not be agitated: Alexander himself, therefore, consented to remove towards Lombardy, that his presence might give vigour to the operations for peace².

But many months passed in other adjustments, and it was March in the present year, before the pontiff with his cardinals, and two commissioners from his Sicilian majesty, embarked on board eleven gallies, furnished by that prince, in the port of Viest. They sailed through the Adriatic gulph; and, on the twenty-third, landing at Venice, were conducted in solemn pomp, to the palace of the patriarch. Still difficulties intervened; to obviate which, and to settle the place of conference, Alexander went to Ferrara. The

¹ Murat. an. 1176.

² A. Alex. an. 1176.

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deputies from Lombardy here met him, and an interview took place, at which the manly and sufficient spirit of the republicans was pleasingly contrasted with the pious effusions, the insinuating policy, and the clerical demeanour of the Roman bishop. When he exhibited his attachment to their cause, by reciting the fatigues and the perils of a journey, to which he had been exposed ; they smiled, and recounted the wars they had maintained, and the battles they had fought. “ With gratitude,” said they, “ we accept the peace, which is offered to us, and the imperial favour. He shall possess the rights which are his due, and which Italy never controverted : but the liberty, our forefathers entailed upon us, we will not relinquish, but with our lives.”—Soon came the imperial ministers, with whom, for many days, a dispute, concerning the place of conference, was warmly agitated. It was finally agreed to meet at Venice, to which place they all repaired.

Many pages could not relate the proceſs of the conference, on the affairs of Lombardy, while neither ſide would recede from their pretenſions. Alexander was aware of the interminable diſcussion, and proposed a truce of ſix years : which was accepted, though reluctantly, by the Lombards. With Rome all had been previously adjusted ; and a peace of fifteen years was ſettled with Sicily. Then was Frederic, who impatiently had waited at ſome diſtance, permitted to enter Venice, having ſolemnly pledged himſelf to ſubſcribe to the terms of peace.

As he approached, on the twenty-fourth of July, a depu‐tation of cardinals was ſent to meet him ; while the pontiff, with

^a Romual. Salern. relat. apud Baron.

with a vast train, proceeded to the metropolitan church of St. Mark. The deputies absolved Frederic and his attendants from the excommunication, they had incurred; when the doge of Venice, and the patriarch, and the nobles, and the clergy of the city, advancing in their gondolas, received the emperor, and conducted him to St. Mark's. Before the gates sat Alexander, surrounded by his dignitaries, attired in their respective dresses. Frederic descended from his gondola, and coming forward on foot, as he approached, threw aside his mantle, and fell prostrate at the pontiff's feet. He raised him from the ground; he wept, embraced, and blessed him: at which the Germans, in a thundering peal, entoned the *Te Deum*, and the emperor, taking hold of the pope's hand, advanced by his side to the choir, where he again bowed his head, and receiving a second blessing, withdrew to the ducal palace^b.

Early, the next morning, at his request, the pope celebrated mass, at which Frederic assisted; and having kissed his holiness's feet, and made his offering, they retired hand in hand. The white palfrey was at the gates, which as the pontiff mounted, Barbarossa held the opposite stirrup; and, with his hand on the reins, was proceeding to attend him, when Alexander graciously released him from the office. Some days were then spent in visits and friendly intercourse; and on the first of August, the peace with Rome and Sicily, and the truce with the Lombards, were solemnly ratified.—The numerous assembly met in the hall of the patriarchal palace. At the bottom, in the middle, sat Alexander, with the cardinals and prelates on each side;

^b Idem ibid.

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and above them, on the right hand, was Frederic, and on the left, the Sicilian minister.¹ The pontiff rose, and in a discourse, well adapted to the occasion, expressed his joy, and the joy of the universal church.—Then rose Frederic. He laid aside his mantle, and spoke in the German tongue, while his chancellor interpreted. He acknowledged the error he had been in, seduced, he said, by bad counsels; he thanked God for the grace which had reclaimed him; he renounced the schism; he received Alexander for his lawful bishop; and he presented peace to the king of Sicily and to the Lombards—Acclamations rent the air. The gospels were brought forward, with the relics of saints, and a part of the true cross; over which, at the command of the emperor, Henry count of Dieffa stretched his arm, and swore on the soul of Frederic, that he would maintain the articles of peace, as covenanted, for ever with the church, fifteen years with Sicily, and fix with Lombardy. Twelve princes of the empire then swore the same. In like manner, Romuald, archbishop of Salerno, whose narration I copy, the Sicilian envoy, swore for his master; and then the commissioners from Lombardy. It is remarkable, that the emperor did not swear in person. In another meeting, anathemas were pronounced against those, who should violate the peace; and the parties departed, Alexander to Anagni, and Frederic towards the confines of Burgundy.—Thus closed the schism; for though the antipope, Calixtus, still resided at Viterbo, his adherents left him, and the christian world obeyed Alexander.

¹ Act. Alex. Romual. Salern. an. 1177.

In the history of man, his errors, or as, more properly, perhaps, they may be called, his endless pursuits in quest of religious truth, form a great feature which must not be neglected. That feature, in all its variety, might be viewed with pleasure, were it unattended by a concomitant imagery, from which the mind recoils with horror. Deviation from orthodoxy (which itself, in the language of men, has varied, as modes of thinking, and even as human policy, has varied) never comes forward, without the implements of oppression, in the near ground, and often of blood.—Two years before, in a provincial synod at Albi, certain opinions had been censured, which were become popular in the southern parts of France. Some of them had originated with Peter Valdo, a rich merchant of Lyons, and others came from the Manicheans, sectaries who, driven from the east, had widely spread their doctrines in many countries of the western church. The men, I speak of, were called *Vaudois* or *Waldenses* from Peter Valdo; they were also called the poor or good men of Lyons, from their contempt of riches, and the air of piety they wore; and soon they were distinguished by other appellations, the most general of which was that of *Albigenses*, from the town of Albi. As yet, I believe, they had no settled creed: but the admission of two principles, essentially distinct, one the author of all good, the other of all evil, however mysteriously expressed, marked them, at this time, for the legitimate descendants of the proscribed sect of Manes. They were condemned, as I said, at Albi; and it appeared, though they refused to speak openly, that they rejected the books of the old testament, as the Manicheans did; that they denied the efficacy of infant

infant baptism ; that they held that every good man could consecrate the eucharist ; that they deemed marriage unlawful, which was a Manichean tenet ; and that the priesthood had no peculiar powers, which other good men had not. But they were full and explicit in their invectives against the riches and the vain parade of churchmen ; and unasked, one principle they proclaimed, in which they remained steady and invariable, that, agreeably to the gospels and the epistle of St. James, *it was never lawful to swear.* Alarmed at the approach of the sentence, which now threatened, the *good men* turned to the people who were round, and publicly delivered a profession of faith, which, they declared, was their belief, clear and orthodox in all its articles. This declaration they were asked to confirm by an oath : “ No,” said they, “ we will not swear.” Sentence, on this, was pronounced, which declared them heretics ; but no other rigours were used^d.

But, in the present year, Raymond, *earl of Toulouse*, excited a general alarm, by the frightful picture his zealous pencil drew, of the spread of heresy in Languedoc, and of its baleful influence. All orders of men, he said, were infected ; the priests had drunk the poison, and their altars were deserted. He holds, indeed, he says, one of the two swords, but he dares not use it : if the king of France will come to his aid, he will open the cities to him ; he will put the villages and castles under his rod ; he will point out the heretics to him ; and, to the effusion of his blood, he will assist him to crush the enemies of Christ. Thus wrote the pious Raymond to the abbot and general chapter of Citeaux.

^d Hoveden. an. 1176. Reiner. ap. Nut. Alex. et alii.

Citeaux^e.—Both Louis and Henry heared the report with emotion, and they resolved to attempt, in person, the expulsion of the heretics from the country. But reflection suggested better means: it told them, rather to send missionaries who might preach the truth, and reclaim the mis-informed from error. The cardinal legate, who was in France, went; and with him two archbishops, and the bishops of Bath and Poitiers, and the abbot of Clairvaux, and a numerous train of churchmen. Yet, alas! also Raymond himself and other powerful lords were commissioned to aid the missionaries, and to execute their mandates.

At Toulouse, the seat of the disorder, Peter Moran, an aged gentleman, of high connections, great wealth, and a distinguished citizen, was brought before them. He was at the head of the sect, and though a layman, was their teacher and their guide. Accused of heresy, he sighed, and denied the charge. Would he confirm his denial, they asked him, by an oath? — “ I am an honest and an honourable man,” he replied, “ and should be credited on my simple affirmation.” They pressed him; when he finally consented, and swore that he would answer with truth, to all their questions. What was his belief, they then asked, in the holy sacrament? — “ I believe,” said he, “ that the consecrated bread is *not* the body of our lord.” — They heared the assertion with tears, and enquiring no further, condemned him of heresy; and the count, receiving him from their hands, committed him to the public prison. The retraction of his errors which ensued, and the

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the ignominies he suffered before the people, I shall not describe. Suffice it, that he was reconciled to the church; but his possessions were confiscated, and he was ordered, for the expiation of his guilt, within forty days, to set out for Jerusalem, and there to remain for three years¹.

Others were apprehended, among whom were two teachers. They appeared before the commissioners, with a profession of faith, written in the language of the country, which they read. Required to explain some ambiguous expressions, they did it; and it appeared, that their belief was orthodox. They denied the doctrine of the two principles, and other opinions with which they had been charged. Before the people, in a fuller assembly, they again read their belief, with a declaration, that they had never taught otherwise; when Raymond of Toulouse and others, in the face of the meeting, charged them with falsehood. They had heared them preach, they said, that there were two Gods, one good, the other evil; that the first had made all invisible things, and such as are not liable to change or corruption; and that the other was the author of the heavens, the earth, and man, and of things visible. Other witnesses asserted, that they had heared from their mouths each particular opinion, which the sect was known to profess. The commissioners then offered the trying question; with which they refused to comply, saying, it was unlawful to swear. They were excommunicated; the people were commanded to separate from them; and the lords of the country bound themselves by oath, to give no protection to them or their abettors. But they had obtained a safe-conduct, before

they

¹ Ep. Hen. Claraval. ap. Noveden.

they came to Toulouse, which empowered them to withdraw without further molestation. BOOK III.
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On the tenets and conduct of these men, the reader will make his own reflections. That they dissembled, is manifest; and that some of their opinions were strictly Manichean, is not less so: but as their doctrines, as it generally happens, did not pass the line of theory, (for their lives, it seems, were inoffensive,) the alarms of Raymond, the civil magistrate, were groundless, and his zeal transgressed order. The tenet of the Vaudois, which forbade them to *swear*, gave them a marked resemblance to a modern society; and if protestants, in general, claim affinity with them, why may not that society, with equal propriety, alledge, that the *good*, if not the *poor*, men of Lyons were their progenitors? The circumstance of Manicheism must, on neither side, debase the pedigree. The best blood is seldom uniformly noble.

The Romans, whose aversion to the civil jurisdiction of their bishop had long kept him at a distance from them, on the extinction of the schism, voluntarily invited him to return. He returned; but on conditions which were honourable to Alexander: That the senators, when elected, should do homage to him; that the church of St. Peter, which they had seized, and the rights of a sovereign, should be surrendered to him; and that they should bind themselves by oath to observe the peace inviolably, and the articles of convention thus stipulated.—The antipope also, deserted by those, who had made him the pageant of an expiring schism, himself waited on Alexander; at his feet confessing

* Ep. Pet. Card. ap. Hoveden.

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his guilt, and imploring forgiveness. The benevolent pontiff kindly raised him from the ground, and forgave him: he even retained him near his person, and in the confidence of an unsuspecting heart, committed to him the government of Beneventum^b. If Alexander was humane and generous, so also was the character of Calixtus not commonly meritorious, which could challenge from his adversary so amiable a display of virtue.

Third coun-
cil of Lateran.

In the possession of all the power, which the triple crown could give, Alexander, with a view to correct the abuses which the disorders of the schism, or rather the common passions of men, had caused or strengthened, convoked at Rome a general council of the Christian world. Summons were sent into every kingdom, and the bishops hastened to attend. But it was found that they, whom neither zeal nor the love of dissipation prompted to the journey, could be released, by money, from the pressing obligation. The discovery, says an historian, gave occasion to suspect, that Roman avarice, not the love of order, had projected the whole measureⁱ. Many prelates, from Ireland and Scotland, obeyed the summons, and passing through England to obtain leave from Henry, took an oath, that they would devise no evil against the king or his realm. The annual revenue of one of these Irish prelates, was but the milk of three cows, with which the people of his diocese regularly supplied him. From England went only four bishops; for it was the privilege of their church, they insisted, to send no more^k. — When the council opened in the church of

Lateran,

^b Romuald. Salern. ap. Baron.

ⁱ Neubrig. l. iii. c. 2.

^k Hoveden. an. 1179.

Lateran, on the third of March, there were present three hundred bishops, of whom a hundred and sixty were from Italy, and other ecclesiastics innumerable. On an elevated throne was seated the sovereign pontiff, and near him were the cardinals, the prefects, the senators, and the consuls of Rome. They assembled on three days, and framed seven and twenty canons. The council is called the third of Lateran.

Were I to transcribe its statutes, all of which appertain to discipline, it would appear, I think, even to the prejudiced man, that the framers of them understood the genuine spirit of christian order, and were zealous to maintain it. Without palliation, they expose the excesses of churchmen, and they prescribe a remedy. They fix a mature age to the exercise of the prelacy, and of inferior offices, pointing out the qualifications which alone should recommend to them; and they strive to check the ostentation of the wealthy. They condemn the frequency of appeals, and every simoniacal practice which had debased religion. To the ministers of the altar they forbid the occupations of the bar, and the charge of civil offices; they proscribe plurality of benefices, and strictly enjoin residence; and if sometimes they trench on the limits of the temporal jurisdiction, it is much less than, in the undefined state of things, might have been naturally expected. If the age then was depraved, it arose not from ignorance in the teachers, or from any want of an exact and provident legislation: but energy failed in the executive department, while the manners of the great, a dissolute and martial aristocracy, widely diffused an intemperance of life, and led their vassals into

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a participation of their crimes, and a heedless disregard of laws, the object of which was a domestic and unoffending morality.—I must not omit to mention, that the first canon ordains, in the future election of popes, that, when the cardinals are not unanimous in their choice, it shall be carried by two thirds of the votes. By the twentieth, tournaments, in which the lives of the combatants were exposed, are forbidden: by the twenty-third, wherever the lepers are sufficiently numerous to live in community, they are permitted to have a church, a cemetery, and a minister, for their own use: and by the last canon, the heretics of Languedoc, whom I described, are anathematised, with an extension of the same sentence to those, who should harbour them in their houses, or presume to traffic with them. With more equity, a similar sentence is pronounced against the Brabanters, or a lawless banditti under different names, who ravaged many provinces of Europe. But in this canon, a marked line is drawn between the two powers. The secular arm, it says, may use the sword in aid of the church, while the church only exercises her spiritual jurisdiction towards the suppression of error¹. Unfortunately this jurisdiction reached to every thing, but the effusion of blood; and they did not see the absurd departure from obvious equity.

Events in
England.

From the last year, Henry had been in England. At Woodstock he knighted his son Geoffrey, who was emulous of his brothers glory, than whom no champions in the lists possessed more prowess, or whose feats in arms shone brighter. These exercises, which we have just seen, the milder

¹ Hoveden. Fleury. Nat. Alex.

milder spirit of the church censured, were deemed a necessary prelude to the art of war. For the youth, says the historian, who has seen his own blood; whose teeth have rattled from the gauntlet; who, unhorsed, has grappled with the adversary; nor from being foiled has desponded, but has risen more fierce, the oftener he had touched the earth; he, when the trumpet calls to war, with a full heart will meet the public enemy^m.—Young Henry, particularly, patronised the amusement, which his example animated, and his princely munificence ennobled. He was nearly three years in France, for that was the seat of chivalry, engaged in perpetual conflicts, and sometimes, as a private knight, entering the lists, and bearing off, unknown; the palm of honour. But Richard, though as fond of the martial sport as he, was generally busied with his barons in Aquitaine in serious warfare, sometimes, doubtless, provoked, but oftener, by his petulance, provoking the wayward barons, to arms. When Geoffrey had received his sword, instantly he crossed into Normandy, and on the French frontier held a tournament, in which his young arm proved him worthy of the fellowship of his elder brothersⁿ.—If the frequent use and celebrity of these combats gave too warlike a cast to the manners of the age; also were they calculated to rouse the nobler passions of the mind; fortitude, generosity, and even benevolence; for soon it became the glory, as it was the duty, of the champion, to protect the innocent; to uphold the helpless, and to vindicate the sacred rights of truth and equity.

^m Hoveden.ⁿ Diceto. Hoveden.

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In this year, Henry lost his faithful minister, Richard de Lucy. Finding his end near, he had retired to a convent, which himself had built on his own estate, and had richly endowed ; and there, having taken the habit of the order, he died within a few weeks. This, while religious orders were held in estimation, was no uncommon practice ; and when the motive was sincere, as often surely it was, how unfair is he, who can see nothing in the measure, but bigotry and weak superstition ! The silence of a convent, with its hours of prayer and meditation, is well adapted to him, who has to make his peace with heaven ; and the man of the world, whose days had passed in the dissipating scenes of politics and war, in the evening of life sought the cloister, wherein he could bury his cares, and prepare for another world. Weak minds would place too much confidence, I know, in the outward garb of penitence ; but where is the holy practice that such minds will not pervert ? Within the walls of convents, at that time, dwelled many virtues ; for the king, I observe, as well as the prelates, watched their conduct with a jealous eye, and often, when complaints were made, not only reprimanded the refractory and the dissolute, but even expelled them from their cloisters, and sometimes called over from abroad persons of more exemplary conduct to occupy their houses.

When Richard de Lucy was dead, the king, in a council at Windsor, dissatisfied, probably, with the late arrangement, divided the kingdom into four districts, appointing five justices or judges over each, at the head of whom, in all but the northern division, were three bishops. They were not to make circuits, it appears, as it was before settled ;

but

but to reside in the king's court, and there hear the causes which would be brought up from their respective districts. Nothing more evinces the unsettled state of government, than that changes, of such importance to the subject, should have been made so rapidly. Complaints, indeed, must have been reported of mal-practices; for, on the new list of judges, I find only one retained, out of the eighteen who had been nominated, three years before^o. — The appointment of the bishops to these civil offices, was contrary to the canons of the late council; and his holiness complained. But the archbishop of Canterbury justified the measure, shewing the great advantage it was of to the church and to the people^p. — It is worth remarking, that the three bishops, thus honoured by their master, were Richard of Ivelchester promoted to Winchester, Geoffrey Riddel of Ely, and John of Oxford now bishop of Norwich, all conspicuous agents in the controversy with Becket.

While Henry was thus usefully busied, he received a letter from the French monarch, requesting his permission to visit the shrine of Becket. The occasion was.—After the example of his predecessors, he had purposed to crown his son Philip, a youth of fourteen years, and was proceeding to Rheims, the place of coronation, when the prince, on a hunting party, was lost in the forest of Compiegne. He wandered all the night; but the fatigue, and more than that, the gloomy terrors of the woods, brought on a dangerous fever. Louis, whose mind was ever religious, turned to heaven for relief: and as the patronage of his late friend, the martyr of Canterbury, was the theme of universal admiration,

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admiration, he resolved, in person, to implore his aid. Henry could not oppose the pious measure; and the king, contrary to the advice of his ministers, with a numerous train embarking at Whitsand, landed, the same day, at Dover. Here Henry, who had ridden all night, met him, and conducted him to Canterbury. At Canterbury the prelates of the realm, and the nobles, were ready to receive him. The anxious parent hastened to the tomb, where he spent the night in prayer; and, the next day, having presented a chalice of great value, and settled on the monks of Christchurch, an annual revenue of a hundred measures (*modios*) of French wine, in perpetuity, with an exemption from all duties, on whatever should be purchased in his realm, for their own use, he departed, and landed safe in France. Now he hearded, that Philip was recovered. But himself soon after that, going to St. Denys, was stricken by a palsy, which threatened to lay him with his ancestors, in that awful repository of human greatness. The event accelerated the coronation of the prince. He was crowned, on the feast of All Saints; and young Henry, as duke of Normandy, walked in the procession, bearing the imperial diadem of France, and what was remarkable, he supported it with his hands over the head of the prince, lest its too great weight might oppress his infant brows^q. Louis was too ill to attend the ceremony.

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In France and
Germany.

But, very soon, a serious misunderstanding arose in the French court. The young king took for his adviser, the earl of Flanders, now returned from Palestine, his godfather, manifesting a marked disregard to his mother and his uncles,

uncles, who, till now, had possessed an unbounded sway. BOOK III.
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 They retired in disgust, and implored the interference of Henry. Philip, with a manly independence, pursued his own wishes; and to convince the house of Champagne, that he should not submit to their controul, he married Elizabeth of Hainault, niece to his favourite earl. With her also he chose to be crowned, a second time, and that by the archbishop of Sens, in despite of cardinal William of Rheims, his uncle, to whose see the right of coronation appertained. In compliance with the request, which had been made to them, the two Henrys sailed to Normandy, whither the queen, with other malcontents, came. They gave hostages, and swore they would be guided by the advice of the English monarchs; and on this, an army was raised, which, in the spirit of chivalry, or from motives less honourable, Henry meant to lead into the territories of France, to revenge the injuries, it was said, which the young king had offered to his mother and his uncles. The youth, aided by the advice of his noble friend, hearing of the design, himself marched his troops to the confines of Normandy. But a conference was proposed, and accepted. They met near Gisors, the politic and experienced Henry, and Philip, a boy in his fifteenth year! The particulars of the conference have not transpired: we only know, that Henry sometimes threatened, and sometimes soothed, till the young king finally consented to restore his mother and her family to his favour, to allow her a revenue, competent with her rank, and, at his father's death, to put her in full possession of her dowry, retaining in his own hands the castles, which belonged to the estates. — And, soon after,

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died the old king, having reigned more than forty years.— Another interview then took place, in which the federal treaty of Ivri, for the mutual protection of both kingdoms, was solemnly renewed between the two monarchs¹. — Already must Henry have discovered, that, if himself, perhaps, should not soon have reason to regret the loss of the easy and unambitious Louis, France, at least, possessed a prince, who would know her interest, and would maintain it.

In Germany, to which Frederic had returned, happened also a momentous revolution. He bore vengeance in his mind against Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom he viewed as the author of his late misfortunes. He had entreated his aid, when the affairs of Lombardy were most pressing: this aid he had refused, and Europe had witnessed the disgrace, which had fallen on the German name. The princes of the empire he instigated to accuse him; and accusing him himself of treason and of conspiracy with the enemy, he cited him to appear before three successive diets. Henry despised the summons; and when Frederic offered to compromise the dispute for the sum of five thousand marks in silver, the proud prince disdainfully refused the compromise. With eagerness, then, the states seized the occasion of humbling a man, whose power was formidable; and as again he neglected to appear, when summoned to a fourth diet at Wurtzburg, they condemned him of contumacy, of treason against his sovereign lord; and all his territories were declared to be forfeited. The fatal sentence was executed with a minute severity, after two diets had

¹ Hoveden. Chron. Norman. an. 1180.

had assembled to ascertain the exact limits of the dismemberment. The dutchies of Saxony, of Bavaria, of Angaria, and Westphalia, with all their dependencies, and the many fiefs he had held of the empire, were parcelled out, and distributed among the great German houses. Henry resisted the proscription : he pleaded the illegality of the sentence, and he exerted the small strength, which a few friends could give him. The combination against him was more than ever powerful, and from the strongest motives, more than ever active. He was permitted to see the emperor ; and before a diet at Erfort, he humbled himself, and he laboured to justify his conduct, and to excuse his former contumacy. He was scarcely heared, and not an acre of land could be recovered. His father-in-law, Henry of England, and the French monarch, interceded for him. Little was obtained. But his wife's dower, the opulent cities of Brunswick and Luneburg, with the adjacent territory, were guaranteed to that princess ; and if the duke would exile himself, for three years, from Germany, on his return, it was promised, that he should be permitted to possess those cities. With his family he withdrew into Normandy. — The illustrious house, that now sits on the imperial throne of Britain, is descended from this Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony.

But little now calls for notice. Europe, indeed, was hourly alarmed with melancholy news from Palestine ; and Alexander signalized his last days, in attempting to rekindle the zeal of the western world. Henry and young Philip, between whom now subsisted a seeming friendship, discussed the weighty subject, and seemed well disposed. It might

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Other occurrences.

* Murat. Peessel Hist. d'Allemag. p. 335.

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be, perhaps, with a view to this undertaking, (to which, the reader will recollect, Henry was in conscience pledged,) that he commanded all his subjects abroad to purchase arms and armour, according to their condition, and which, remaining in the family, should descend to the next heir. Philip and the earl of Flanders admired the regulation, and published a similar ordinance. The arrangement of Henry was, that every man, possessing a hundred pounds of Angevin money in chattels, should provide himself with a horse and a complete suit of armour; every man, having forty, or thirty, or twenty-five pounds, at least, of the same money, in chattels, to have an habergeon, (coat of mail,) a scull-cap of iron, a lance, and a sword; and all other men to have a wambais, (quilted jacket,) a scull-cap of iron, a lance, and sword, or, a bow and arrows. — Coming to England, soon afterwards, he established a like regulation, with that difference, which the military habits of the two kingdoms might require. Here he ordained that:

1. Every possessor of one knight's fee shall have a coat of mail, (*lorica*), a helmet, a shield, and a lance: and every knight shall have as many coats of mail, helmets, shields, and lances, as he has knights fees on his domain.—2. Every free layman, who has, in chattels or rent, to the value of sixteen marks, shall have the same arms, as above.—3. Every free layman, having ten marks, in chattels or rent, shall have an habergeon, a scull-cap of iron, and a lance, (pike or spear.)—4. And all burgesses, and the whole community of freemen, shall have a wambais, a scull-cap of iron, and a lance. — The arms of the knight were those of the heavy horseman, and the others were carried by the foot.

The

¹ Hoveden. an. 1181.

The king's justices were ordered to go into every county, and, by the most exact researches, to ascertain the number of those, whom the statute regarded; all of whom, under severe penalties, were to be provided with their arms, by the feast of St. Hilary^u. — No reason is assigned for this extraordinary measure, the policy of which, in a nation too prone to rebel against their sovereign, is not obvious; and the expence fell heavy on the indigent. “The unskillful peasants,” says an historian, “used to the spade and mattock, now gloried reluctantly in the soldier's arms^v;” Nor is it said, that the aristocracy even of the nation was consulted, as usual, in any public meeting, on this general concern; but the historian observes, that the king ordained the statute.

And, in this year, died Alexander, for learning, firmness, and moderation, one of the greatest pontiffs, that had sitten in the chair of St. Peter. He was succeeded by Lucius III. cardinal bishop of Ostia, a man far advanced in years, moderately learned, but of great experience in business. Agreeably to the late decree of the Lateran council, the cardinals now began to take to themselves the privilege of electing the Roman bishop; and the people and clergy, who hitherto had been consulted, were taught to retire from the conclave^w. — Now also died Roger, archbishop of York, who has been often mentioned. His name comes down, with no praise, from the monkish chroniclers; nor, I believe, did he merit any; but to their order he was peculiarly hostile. His long life, say they, he spent in shearing, not in feeding, his flock; and to judge from the incre-

^u Hoveden.^v Gervas.^w Fleury, t. xv. p. 500.

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incredible sums he had amassed, the observation, probably, was not unfounded. Those sums, in his last sickness, he bequeathed to charitable and pious uses; but Henry, by a despotic act of prerogative, seized on the vast treasures, alledging, which was true, that the archbishop had himself procured a decree from Rome, which empowered him to seize the effects of any churchman, in his district, who should make a will on his death-bed. The king's agents, in their researches for this property, demanded three hundred marks from de Pusey, bishop of Durham. “It is true,” said he, “I received so much from the hand of the archbishop, and I have distributed it among the poor and the afflicted, and in the repair of churches and bridges, for the repose of his soul, as he enjoined me. He who wants it, may collect it. I shall not.” — I am sorry to add, that the manly, though not very courtly, reply, greatly irritated Henry, who seized the bishop's castle, and commanded his officers to harass him by every possible severity*.

1182.

The return of the queen-mother, with the house of Champagne, to the French court, had soon produced the effect, which it was natural to look for. The earl of Flanders saw his influence decrease, and in disgust retired. But his absence did not bring back harmony. Stephen, count of Sancerre, one of the uncles, claimed some castles, and took them. Distrust, jealousy, and every bad passion, which haunt the courts of princes, spread a general discontent; and Philip, in all the inexperience of youth, saw he could not confide, even in the ties of blood. He implored the advice of Henry; he took into his pay an army of Brabanters;

* Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig.

Brabanters; and being joined by the three English princes, BOOK III.
 he marched against the malcontents. Every where he was
 successful; and Henry coming into France, a general
 accommodation was effected.

The restless spirit of young Henry again began to move; and he withdrew with his wife to the French court, demanding from his father, the surrender of Normandy, or of some other territory, where he might dwell, and support the dignity of a prince. It is said, that Philip ungratefully advised the measure. However, on receiving an increase of income, and the promise of a donative to a hundred knights of his household, he was satisfied, and returned to fresh oaths and fresh protestations of an unshaken allegiance. —The dependent circumstances of the prince ill accorded, it must be owned, with the imperial crown he wore; and though policy, perhaps, justified the arrangement, it was natural that his high spirit should, sometimes, recoil.

We are opening to a melancholy scene. The christmas of this year was kept at Caen, where Henry was with his three sons, and the duke of Saxony with his family, and a numerous attendance of prelates and nobles. These festivals, the reader will have observed, were then celebrated with much magnificence. As a proof of love, the king, before they parted, proposed that Richard and Geoffry should do homage to their elder brother, for their dutchies of Aquitaine and Bretagne, as to their feudal lord. Geofry complied; but Richard, either from pride of heart, or because, the French king being his sovereign in the fee, he conceived he owed no allegiance, at least, to his brother,

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Death of the
young king.

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brother, refused to submit, and withdrawing into Poitou, prepared for hostilities. The violence of Richard's administration, in Aquitaine, had rendered him generally odious; and many barons, if he would support them, had, before this, offered themselves to young Henry, to become his liege subjects. He now accepted their submission, and went into Aquitaine. At the same time, the turbulent Geoffry, ever ready to move at the call of discord, hired an army of Brabanters; and with them joining his elder brother and the malcontents, they proposed to expel Richard from the provinces, which they attempted by a general ravage of the country. Richard retaliated; but feeling the strength of the confederacy, he implored the aid of his father. His father beheld, with horror, the unnatural war, and he marched from Normandy, purposing, if possible, to obstruct its progress. The events which, for some weeks, ensued, involved in obscurity, but too plainly blackened by the stain of the most debasing crimes, when the life of the father was, more than once, attempted, and the confederated brothers sometimes sued for peace, and then engaged in more desperate achievements, I shall not relate. The principal scene was before the strong castle of Limoges, which the enemy occupied. In a moment of false repentance, young Henry vowed to take the cross, and though opposed by his father in the rash resolution, he persisted; and some days after, plunged deeper in rebellion! By this time, the Brabanters were clamorous for pay. Geoffry, whom they served, entered the castle, where his friends were, and stripping the shrine of St. Martial of its silver covering, and the convent of its plate, returned with the booty to his camp, at some distance from the walls.

But

But now, by the command of pope Lucius, the archbishop of Canterbury, assembling many prelates and the clergy at Caen, pronounced a solemn anathema against all who disturbed the public peace, and who should obstruct its completion. Out of respect to the crown, young Henry only was not involved in the sentence. The measure did not break the confederacy; and the mercenaries again calling for pay, another shrine and other churches were plundered. This the young king, though bearing the holy cross, effected. Henry, before this, had received a strong reinforcement of Spanish troops, brought by the king of Arragon; and it seems, he was determined to act with vigour against the enemy, who obstinately adhered to their resolution, not to submit to Richard. A battle was expected; when young Henry suddenly fell ill of a fever, and it soon appeared that he must die. In penitence of mind, he sent to his father, requesting he would come to him. Henry was dissuaded from the pious office, his friends alledging the danger, which might attend it, from the flagitious confederacy round the sick prince: wherefore, he took a ring from his finger, well known to his son, and, as a token of forgiveness, sent it to him. The prince kissed it: “Take to my father,” said he, “one request more; that he will be merciful to the barons of Aquitaine, and pay to my knights and servants the wages due to them.” Having privately confessed his sins, as some bishops and religious persons stood near him, he publicly acknowledged his guilt; and receiving absolution, delivered his cross into the hands of a friend, to be taken to Jerusalem. A piece of sackcloth, by his order, was then put round his body, and

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a cord about his neck : “ Thus,” he said to the bishops near him, “ I deliver myself to your ministry, an unworthy and guilty sinner, begging, that the Lord Jesus Christ, who shewed mercy to the repentant thief, will, through your prayers and his own ineffable goodness, extend the like mercy to my unhappy soul.” They answered, *Amen!* —“ And now,” he continued, in a weaker voice, “ draw me from my bed by this cord ; and lay me on yon bed of ashes.” — The ashes had been prepared. — His orders were executed ; and they placed a large square stone under his head, and another under his feet. In this situation, he received the holy communion. “ Let me be buried at Rouen,” were his last words ; soon after which he expired, in the twenty-ninth year of his age².

To say more of him is unnecessary. The contemporary writers represent him, as endowed with many amiable and brilliant qualities, such qualities as, unfortunately, in every age, will recommend a prince to the public favour. He was handsome, affable, munificent ; and, as I have said, in all the prowess and feats of chivalry, expert and animated, dauntless and perseverant. But his conduct to his father, heightened as it was by incidental depravity, must draw a cloud over the false lustre of his character, through which, to a mind of just appreciation, no ray of greatness shall ever penetrate.—Henry, with parental fondness, bemoaned his loss ; and as the corpse, shrowded in the linen garments he wore at his coronation, approached, borne on the shoulders of his fellow-soldiers, he met it, and weeping, saw the melancholy procession pass along.—They proceeded as far as

Mans,

² Hoveden. Neubrig. Dicet. Gervas. an. 1183.

Mans, on thcir way into Normandy, when the inhabitants and clergy of that city forcibly seized the body, and buried it, with funeral pomp, in their cathedral. There lay his grandfather, Geoffry Plantagenet. But the Normans remonstrated, and threatened to use force, if their just demands were not complied with. Henry then interferred, and the body being surrendered, it was carried to Rouen, and interred^a.

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The confederacy dissolved. Henry took the castle of Limoges, which he levelled with the ground; and the other castles of the rebellious barons were surrendered to him. Geoffry he pardoned; but he secured the fortresses of Bretagne by his own garrisons. Peace was restored; and as his son had requested, he shewed mercy to his enemies. Richard was now heir to his father's dominions.—A dispute arose with Philip, concerning the dower of the young queen, his sister, which was amicably settled; and Henry, in a public meeting, did homage to the French king, with some reluctance, it seems, for all his transmarine possessions, announcing, by the ceremony, that he held them himself immediately from Philip, and that his sons were mesne tenants or subvassals under him^b.

This year is rendered famous, in the annals of Italy, by the conclusion of a general peace between Frederic and the confederated Lombards. The truce of six years expired, when envoys from the allies waited on the emperor at Constance. Here the peace was signed, which gave liberty and all the rights of independence to them, the emperor reserving a nominal sovereignty, and some immunitics of

Independence
of the Lom-
bards, and
other events.

^a Auditors at sup.

^b Howden.

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little value. The brave republicans celebrated the event, with uncommon festivity, and Italy, in its northern provinces, once more welcomed the return of freedom. But there were many towns, which had uniformly adhered to Frederic, preferring his smiles to the blessings of an independent security^c.

The reader has viewed the struggle, as I described it, perseverant, temperate, and manly; but a reflection, perhaps, did not occur to him, which I will suggest. — Those men, descended, indeed, from a ferocious ancestry, who had made the western empire tremble, at the time I am describing, were parcelled out in distinct communities, guided by no peculiar policy, and in religion, adhering, in its several maxims, to that of Rome. Their bishops, and their clergy, bore a great sway, as where, at that time, did they not? Yet, in these circumstances, Lombardy fought for liberty, and deserved to gain it. The Roman bishop was their ally. Shall it then be said that, there is any thing in the spirit of that communion, hostile to liberty, hostile to the rights of man? And, at what time, had it existed, could its influence have been exerted with more success, than when ignorance, it is said, had spread its mantle over the human faculties, and the power of Rome was uncontrollable?

The fickle Romans, whose policy was contemptible, and whose conduct seemed to prove the truth of the observation, that a people, once degenerated, shall never rise again, had quarrelled with their bishop, though so recently reconciled to Alexander, and had driven him from their walls. The old pontiff, who knew their venal character, was aware, that

^c Muratori an. 1183.

that no terms of accommodation would be accepted, which money did not strengthen; and he therefore requested aid from the christian kingdoms. Two nuncios came to Henry, who took the advice of the prelates and clergy of England, on the expediency of the measure. Their answer merits notice. “ We request your Majesty,” said they, “ will send what subsidy you may deem most proper, for yourself and us. For we would much rather refund our contingent of the sum into your exchequer, than that agents from his holiness be permitted to come amongst us, on which a precedent may be founded injurious to the realm^d.” The patriotic resolution proves, that they felt no undue attachment to the see of Rome. A large sum was sent, with which, and other subsidies, Lucius purchased a temporary peace, from the mercenary citizens.

On the death of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in this year, a controversy, on the right of election, arose between the monks of Christchurch and the bishops of the diocese, which the chroniclers detail with a tedious minuteness. Henry strove to conciliate the jarring factions, and in the attempt, exposed his royal dignity to the derision of both. In his transactions with the church, that manliness of conduct left him, which, on other occasions, was conspicuous. He promised, he flattered, he implored, with an unbecoming condescension; and then his mind was retrograde, and he broke through the tissue himself had formed. Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, was finally elected, the man whom the king and the prelates preferred^e.

1184.

^d Hoveden.^e Gerv. Diceto. an. 1184.

BOOK III.

1184.

During the contest, the duke of Saxony with his consort, was in England, magnificently entertained by Henry; and he was also visited by the archbishop of Cologne, the friend of the emperor, who, though practised to arms, and possessing little of the churchman's spirit, would not pass by the occasion of praying at the martyr of Canterbury's shrine. The earl of Flanders was with him. Of all the enemies to the duke of Saxony, the prelate I am speaking of, was the most inveterate. Henry, whose heart towards his friends was ever warm, in shewing him the most signal marks of attention, had a benevolent object in view. He proposed to him, to forget his enmity, and to be his son-in-law's friend. It was effected, and the parties met. This, however, is denied by other writers.—To proceed in this humane business, he likewise sent ministers to Verona, where the pope was holding a synod, and where Frederic also was, to beg the intercession of the former in favour of the unfortunate duke. The application was attended with success^f.

1185.

Embassadors
from Jerusa-
lem.

Some affairs now called Henry to the north; but at Nottingham he was informed, that embassadors from a distant kingdom had just landed in England, and waited his return. He returned, and met them at Reading. They were Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Roger, grand master of the knights of the Hospital, sent to implore the aid of christendom, against the arms of Saladin. They had been at Verona, where they saw the pope and Frederic; and from his holiness they brought letters, to Philip king of France, and to Henry king of England. Philip they had visited,

^f Hoveden.

visited, who received them graciously, and promised them assistance, from his purse and the valour of his subjects; but go himself he could not. He was yet without children, and the voice of his people disapproved the measure. They came to England. As Henry appeared, they fell at his feet, and weeping, saluted him in the name of Baldwin, their king, and of the nobles of the land, and of the people of Jerusalem. They laid before him the motive of their journey. They put into his hand the letter of Lucius, which extolled his many virtues, and those of his ancestors; which represented the deplorable state of Palestine; and which gently reminded him of the promise he had made, to give it succour. They produced the royal banner, and the keys of the holy sepulchre, and of the tower of David, and of the city of Jerusalem, and these they delivered to him. "With the blessing of God," said the king, kindly raising them from the ground, "your business shall prosper:" and he named the first Sunday in Lent, for them to receive his final answer, at London^s.

The situation of the holy land was, indeed, perilous. Since the last crusade, which had terminated so fatally in 1149,^h a series of disastrous occurrences seemed to prepare its final ruin. The three princes who remained, of Tripoli, Antioch, and Jerusalem, were, sometimes, divided by a weak policy; while Noureddin, sultan of Aleppo, availed himself of every weakness, and pressing forward, invaded their territory, and beat down their fortresses. To him succeeded Saladin, the bravest and wisest prince that the east had long beheld, before Sultan of Egypt, and soon after

^s Hoveden. an. 1185.^h Hist. of Abeiil. p. 362.

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after, also sultan of Syria. That he rose to this height of power by equitable means, cannot be said; but he rose to it, as other conquerors had done. The infant son of Noureddin he dispossessed of his dominions, and mounted on his throne. Baldwin IV. the seventh prince from Geoffrey of Bouillon, was king of Jerusalem, young in years, and enervated by a leprosy, (for so the disorder was then called,) which rendered him incapable of every exertion. Thus compelled to withdraw from business, he nominated his nephew, a child of five years, his successor, and gave the administration to the earl of Tripoli, a man of prowess and great experience, with the title of regent. But the state, with its dependent principalities, was, on every side, hemmed in by Saladin, who saw, with scorn, the puny kingdom still maintain its independence, while distant nations bowed, with reverence, to his beck. There were no internal resources, the regent saw, which could make any effectual stand against the power of the enemy; and the troops, which the zeal of different chieftains brought from Europe, were but a precarious succour. He took the advice of his council, and resolved, as the danger was most pressing, to call Europe to his aid. This occasioned the embassy, I am describingⁱ.

The first Sunday in Lent came, and a great council met, where the prelates and barons of England were, and the king of Scotland, with David his brother, and a numerous train of nobles. The proposal of the ambassadors being laid before them, they deliberated, whether it would be most adviseable for his Majesty, to succour, in person, the people

ⁱ *Guil. Tyrius & alii.*

people of Jerusalem, or, agreeably to his coronation oath, to govern, at home, the realm committed to his care; and the resolution they, unanimously, adopted was most wise. They resolved, that “to rule his own subjects with moderation, and to protect them from their enemies, was more expedient, and more for the good of his soul, than to march to the relief of the eastern christians.” The resolution Henry delivered to the patriarch: “I cannot go myself,” said he to him; “but I will aid those with my purse, who shall undertake the journey.” Heraclius was dissatisfied. “It is not money which we want,” he replied, “but a man:” and he then requested that one of the princes might be permitted to accompany him. The king could not comply, as the two eldest were absent: but John, we are told, in vain petitioned it on his knees. As the council separated, Henry announced a general leave to all his subjects to take the cross; and the number who enlisted, laity and clergy, at the head of whom were the primate and Ranulph de Glanville, the new justiciary, was incredible. — Henry then went into Normandy with his visitors, and held a conference, on the borders, with Philip. The result was, that they should assist the holy land with large supplies of men and money. But the patriarch and his companion, every where disappointed in the sanguine hope of leading a monarch into the east, having insolently upbraided Henry with infidelity more than Saracenic, turned their faces homeward, and sullenly retired^k.

Before the king went abroad, he had knighted John, and sent him, with a powerful armament, to Ireland, for

Prince John
goes to Ireland

* Hoveden. Dicet. Girald. Camb.

1185.

which he had been long destined. To relate the events that had preceded this nomination, under the administration of Hugh de Lacy, is unnecessary. They were various, such as an unsettled government would naturally produce ; while the English, by such means as their superiority gave them, would extend their conquests, and the Irish, though bent to subjection, would, sometimes, make a struggle, and repel force by force, violence by violence. The administration of de Lacy had been generally agreeable to all parties ; but Henry, with some reason, feared his popularity, as he knew his ambition. He had once recalled him to England, and, just before this time, had named Philip de Worcester, to supersede him in the viceroyalty. De Lacy withdrew into Meath, of which province he was lord. Philip marched northward, and the greater part of Ulster, into which the brave John de Courcy had before entered, submitted to his arms. In the south, all was quiet ; and to Connaught peace had been restored, after a civil war between Roderic and his son Conor Manmoy, which had driven the unhappy monarch to a convent. Such was the face of things, when prince John, in his seventeenth year, landed, in great splendour, at Waterford. Giraldus Cambrensis, the historian, and preceptor of the prince, was with him¹.

John de Cumin, the new archbishop of Dublin, an Englishman, and late chaplain to the king, and many English lords, received him at his landing. The Irish chieftains of the neighbourhood, who had been ever well affected to the new government, then waited on him, and attesting their joy, as the manner of the country was, offered him the kiss

of

¹ Girald. Camb. l. ii. c. 31.

of peace. Their beards were long and bushy. Stricken at BOOK III.
 the sight, to them unusual, the young courtiers laughed,
 and even, it is said, petulantly raised their hands to the
 venerable ornament. The insult was decisive. They in-
 instantly withdrew in anger; and returning home, took their
 families with them, and repaired to the three princes, who,
 as yet, had some power, O'Brian, called king of Limerick,
 Mac Arthy, king of Cork, and Roderic O'Connor, king of
 Connaught. They also were preparing to wait on their
 young sovereign, at Waterford. With indignation, the
 insulted chiefs laid their complaints before them. " We
 " have a boy come to us," said they, " escorted by other
 " boys, and boys are his advisers. What counsels, what
 " steadiness, what security can Ireland look for? Shall we
 " tamely submit to this?" and they repeated the story of
 their beards.—The kings reasoned well, that if they, who
 had always been obedient to England, had been thus used,
 what might others expect, whose conduct had been less
 subservient? On the spot, therefore, they formed a confe-
 deracy, binding themselves by oath to forget their own
 quarrels, and, at the peril of their lives, to assert the
 ancient independence, the rights, and honour of their
 country^m.

The administration of John was such as might be expected. He gave the lands of some Irish, though attached to England, to the new men he had brought with him. The injured people joined the enemy. The maritime cities and castles, with their districts, and the receipt of the tributes, were committed to men of riot and dissipation. The

^m Girald. Camb. c. 35.

BOOK III.

1185.

command of the forces was no longer in the hands of experienced and steady generals. The frontiers were left exposed, while the household troops, enervated by intemperance, would not quit the cities. The old soldiers, no longer employed or consulted, retired in disgust, looking with horror to the near issue of such unmanly and unwise proceedings. At every turn, the thoughtless youth was ill-advised; and when he wished to act, he was ill served, and ill obeyed.— Roderic left his convent, and the other princes collected their forces, and attacked the English. Various conflicts ensued, and the armies of John, by the sword or by desertion, wasted away, and a general revolution seemed to threaten. It is said that, Hugh de Lacy, who continued in Meath, jealous of the prince's power, secretly obstructed, and brought disgrace on, his measures. Henry saw it was necessary to recall his son, which he did, after eight months, committing the entire administration, with the command of the forces, to John de Courcyⁿ.

1186.

Conduct of
Frederic and
the popes.

I have mentioned that Frederic and Lucius met at Verona. There they held a council, the principal decree of which was against those heretics, of whom I have spoken, and against their abettors. Its tendency was most intolerant, and on it were constituted those principles, which, a few years later, gave birth to the tremendous court of *Inquisition*. But though the pontiff and his imperial colleague could join hands to distress mankind, they did not accord on points, where their own interest was concerned. Lucius demanded the restitution of the lands of the countess Matilda, (a donation formerly made by that lady to the Roman church,^o) which

ⁿ Giral. Camb. Hoveden.^o Life of Abeil. p. 34.

which the emperor, by the late treaty with Alexander, was empowered to hold for fourteen years; and he, as it was natural, refused it. Frederic, on his side, asked for the imperial crown for his son, Henry. “I have not heared of two emperors, at a time,” sternly replied Lucius; “nor shall I crown the son, unless the father abdicate.” The emperor left him, and visited, as a friend, the other towns in Lombardy. A few months after, the pontiff died, and was succeeded by Urban III.

And now was celebrated, at Milan, the marriage of that Henry with Constance, aunt to William, king of Sicily. By much perseverance, Frederic had gained this point, which the Sicilians, hating the German name, strongly opposed; and which was not less opposed by the pope, the interest of whose court was nearly concerned. William had no children by his queen, the daughter, as the reader knows, of our Henry; and it was to the probable acquisition of another kingdom to his family, that Frederic looked. The event will shew how well his views were founded. — Frederic and the new pope were not better friends. He was a Milanese by birth, and archbishop of Milan; and his dislike to the emperor was aggravated by the intemperate conduct of young Henry. Urban brought many charges of violence and extortion against Frederic, which he repelled, and in a diet at Galenhausen submitted his cause to the arbitration of the states. They sided with him; but Urban was inflexible, and had not death opportunely intervened, we had again beheld another inglorious scene of discord. His successor was Gregory VIII.[¶]

[¶] Murat. Baron. et alii.

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1187.

The detention
of Adelais ex-
cites hostili-
ties.

The aspect of things in France also had promised no continuance of peace. Geoffry was killed at a tournament in Paris, leaving an only daughter ; but Constantia, his countess, was with child. His death, though violent and untimely, drew no tears from Henry's eyes, and few from those of others. His vices are upon record, and his virtues were buried with him. Philip, indeed, with whom he was plotting against his father's interest, when the accident happened, lamented his loss ; and some time afterwards, demanded from Henry the custody of the infant, and of the dutchy of Bretagne. Both were refused. Bretagne, it is known, was an immediate fief under Normandy.—There were other points in contest.—The French king, on the death of the younger Henry, with much propriety, had requested, that the portion he had received with Margaret, his wife, as there were no children, should be restored to the crown of France. That was Gisors and its territory, an important barrier. Henry hesitated ; and on that occasion it was, that the delicate business of Adelais, Philip's younger sister, was again brought forward. The reader will recollect, how long she had been in the old king's custody, and that, from year to year, he had evaded her marriage with Richard. But now, when Gisors was redemanded, he promised, on oath, that he would surrender the lady to his son ; and Philip, in consideration of the match, covenanted to resign all claim to the castle and its territory.—The historian says, that Adelais was confined, like a captive, in strict custody. If so, it was in the castle, probably, of Woodstock, where the fair Rosamond, also, had once been captive. Henry knew how to render such bondage sufferable, particularly when the prying

eye

eye of Elcanor was away; and her, with very little intermission, he had now, for many years detained, in serious captivity, at Winchester^q.

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Months passed, and Adelais remained a prisoner. The circumstance irritated Philip, when he peremptorily insisted that his sister should be surrendered to him, and with her the portion he had promised.—Richard himself, occupied with war and the free indulgence of his passions, seems never to have given a thought to these litigious nuptials, under the prospect of which, however, he had been originally invested in the dutchy of Aquitaine.—The kings met, and parting in ill humour, the flame of war was instantly kindled. Henry pretended, that the castle of Gisors was his, independently of any late covenant with Philip; thus concealing, perhaps, from his own eyes, the real source of contest, which, though it degraded him, is known, more than once, to have deluged nations in blood.

On both sides, great forces were levied; and after the loss of some fortresses, taken by Philip, the armies met in Berry, near Chateauroux. Richard, and John, and Geofry, the son of Rosamond, (whom I mentioned as bishop elect of Lincoln, but now a layman, and chancellor of England), held the principal command under Henry. Both armies were ardent for battle, and the trumpet was expected to sound—when two legates from the pope, who had been in England on other business, stopt forward between the lines, and denounced excommunication against him that should strike the first blow. The fury of the armies fell; and their swords were sheathed; and a conference ensued,

in

^q Hoveden. Gerv. an 1186.

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in which a truce of two years was settled^r. — But Richard, instead of returning with his father, attended Philip to Paris, where they passed some time in uncommon intimacy. Henry knowing the dispositions of his son, feared the consequences of their friendship, and entreated him to leave the French court. He left it, and passing by Chinon, where his father's treasure was, he seized it, and withdrew into Poitou. A reconciliation, however, took place between them, when Richard renewed his oath of fealty, and promised, in future, to be guided by his counsels^s.

Constantia, duchess of Bretagne, was delivered of a son. Henry had wished, that he should be called by his name; but the Bretons, assisting at the ceremony of his baptism, loudly demanded, that he should be named Arthur, fondly pleased with the fabulous tales, they had read of their British hero, and trusting his spirit might descend on their infant duke. He was named Arthur^t. — And, in the same year, France also received an heir to her throne. On which occasion, the natural gaiety of the people almost exhausted itself in excess of festivity. For seven days, and seven nights, they sang, and danced, and prayed^u.

News came to Europe that Jerusalem was taken. — Baldwin, the leper, was dead, and his successor, Baldwin V. a youth of eight years, was also dead, in 1186; when Guy de Lusignan, the baron who had treacherously murdered the earl of Salisbury in Poitou, by the interest of his wife Sibylla, aunt to the late king, was called to the vacant throne of Jerusalem. He was not equal to the perilous station.

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Battle of Ti-
berias and loss
of Jerusalem.^r Hoveden. Neubrig. l. iii. c 13.^s Hoveden.^t Neubrig. c. 7.^u Gest. Phil. an. 1187.

station. To him, however, Saladin granted a truce for three years; and this truce, within a few months, was shamefully broken by Renaud de Chatillon, who, issuing from his castles on the frontier, plundered a Mahometan caravan, and threw the merchants into prison. “Thence let ‘your prophet deliver you;’” he said insultingly. Saladin, calling God to witness the perfidy of his enemies, declared the truce was at an end, and swore, in his anger, that his own hand should revenge on the reviler the insulted honour of Mahomet. When his army was assembled, he advanced into Galilee, and storming the city of Tiberias, laid siege to its citadel. It was bravely defended by the countess of Tripoli, and a band of chosen knights. In the mean while, Guy de Lusignan and the other princes had drawn all their forces together, almost dismantling the towns of their necessary defence. With them also was the earl of Tripoli, who had been regent of the realm; and who, on the accession of Guy to the throne, in resentment had made a treaty with Saladin, which he was now induced to sacrifice to the welfare of the general cause. They marched to the relief of the citadel, about forty thousand strong; and the army of Saladin, which doubled that of the christians, on the second of July, appeared before them.. On the following morning, the fight began, which lasted all that day, and with the next sun, was renewed with equal fury. But this was but a day of carnage. Outnumbered by the enemy, the christians fell, and the field was a scene of blood and horror. The earl of Tripoli, on whom lay the principal command, and whose arm till now had achieved wonders, seeing the defeat, escaped precipitately. Guy de Lusignan, Renaud

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de Chatillon, the masters of the Temple and Hospital, and some knights were taken prisoners. Besides these, few of the forty thousand lived to see the setting sun. The cross, on which our Saviour suffered, and which the bishop of Ptolemais bore to the battle, as the sign that would give them victory, was likewise taken. This they deemed the greatest disaster.

After the battle, Saladin, in his tent, rendered thanks to God, and commanded the prisoners to be brought before him. They were dying with thirst. "Here," said the benevolent sultan to Lusignan, "take this bowl of cool Sherbet." He drank, and gave it to Chatillon. Saladin, turning to his interpreter, said: "Tell the king, that it is not I, but he, who has given drink to that man;" alluding to an Arabian custom, which secures the life of a prisoner from his hand, who has given him either to eat or drink. So sacred to them are the duties of hospitality! He then dismissed them to take further refreshment; and in a second interview, addressing himself to Chatillon, he upbraided him with his perfidious conduct, and the insult he had offered to the prophet. "I will avenge it," he exclaimed: "but if thou wilt embrace his faith, thou mayest yet live." With disdain, the christian refused his mercy. Saladin drew his scymeter, and aimed a blow at his neck, which fell on his shoulder. His attendants did the rest. After this, all the knights were massacred; which seemed a just retaliation, as it was a law of their institute never to give quarter to the infidels.

The castle of Tiberias surrendered, on the next day, and it was followed by the loss of Acre or Ptolemais. Nor did

the

the remaining cities hold out long. Jaffa, and Cesarca, and Berytus, and Sidon, and many more towns and castles, fell before the enemy. Ascalon was given up, in ransom for the king, who still was not released; and Gaza surrendered to a detachment from the Sultan's army. On the nineteenth of September, he sat down before Jerusalem.

The city was full of men, but not of soldiers; for they had been slain on the fourth of July. A woman and a priest, queen Sibylla and Heraclius, the patriarch, held the chief command. Besides, every circumstance, the captivity of their king, and a train of disastrous events, pressed heavy on their hearts. Terms of capitulation were, therefore, offered to Saladin. He refused them, saying, he would storm the holy city, and revenge, as was his duty, the blood of the seventy thousand musselmen, whom their ancestors, when they took it, had unpitifully massacred. Sibylla, and the lords of her council, returned for answer, that, if he drove them to despair, they should know how to sell their lives, as became their honour. The bold defiance did not irritate the brave infidel, and he accepted their surrender, on the following terms: That the city should be put into his hands in the condition it then was; that the nobles and military should march out with their arms, and retire to what town they chose; and that the inhabitants might have the same liberty, on paying a certain stipulated tax on each head, and be escorted to a place of safety. The siege had lasted but fourteen days, when these articles were signed.

U u 2

Saladin,

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Saladin, with a religious punctuality, adhered to the treaty, and only departed from it, in extending his humanity, beyond the bounds of capitulation, to the sick and wounded, and releasing those without ransom, whose poverty could not supply the covenanted sum. Sibylla and the principal people retired to Antioch, and the Latin christians withdrew from the walls. — Thus was Jerusalem recovered by the Mahometans, after it had been held, for eighty-eight years, by nine christian princes.—The oriental christians were permitted to remain, and the church of the holy sepulchre, and the other places of devotion, were not polluted: for policy dictated to Saladin, that, as the flow of pilgrims to Jerusalem constituted all its wealth, the lucrative infatuation should not be prohibited. He only ordained, that all pilgrims, in future, should come without arms, and submit to an easy duty. Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli were the only towns, which remained in the hands of the christians^v.

*Preparations
for a crusade.*

To paint the consternation which fell on Europe, at the first report of these disasters, is not possible. The last trumpet, calling them to judgment, could not have thrilled their ears with greater horror. No wonder, if the gentle voice of reason, which, in moments of more composure, had not been listened to, should now have in vain pleaded for a hearing. Yet there were men, who saw the infatuation, and bewailed it; but also, their suggestions, if they had fortitude to warn the multitude, would be as little heeded.

^v Hoveden. Neubrig. Salad. Vit. et alii.

The kings were again in conference near Gisors, on the twenty-first of January, and a mixed assembly was with them; when William, the learned bishop of Tyre, who had come from the east, addressed them on the late desolation of his country, and in painting its misfortunes, pointed to the completion of the tragic scene, which must soon ensue. The hearts of his hearers caught the warm impression: the kings, on the spot, were reconciled, and with the multitude, took the sacred cross from his hand. At the same hour, says the historian, (so wild are the conceptions of enthusiasm!) a cross appeared in the heavens, over the heads of the assembly. Other such signs were seen in many parts: but who is ignorant of the thousand forms, which fancy can, at will, lend to the varying clouds? — To distinguish the nations, whom the crusade might engage, the crosses of the French were red, those of the English white, and of the Flemish green. The princes then departed to prepare for the expedition^w.

At Mans, to which Henry repaired, the principal barons of the provinces met him, and the following regulations were adopted: That all those, who did not go to the war, should, this year, 1188, give the tenth part of all their rents and chattels, excepting the horses, arms, and apparel of the knights, and the books, cloaths, and chapel furniture of clergymen, and the jewels of laity and clergy: that they who refused to pay this tythe, be excommunicated: that commissaries be appointed to collect it in each parish: that the crusaders, themselves exempt from the tax, receive the contributions of their vassals: and that the burgesses, and

^w Hoveden. an. 1188.

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and free socmen or peasants, who took the cross, without the leave of their lords, should not be freed from the general imposition.—Prophane swearing was particularly prohibited, and games of hazard, and luxury in dress, such as furs of various kinds, and in the table, at which two dishes of any purchased meat only are allowed.—No man is to take a woman with him, unless a single washerwoman, on foot, and of whom there could be no suspicion; and no one to go in torn or ragged cloaths.—The other clauses regarded the mortgage of estates, and the distribution of the property of those, who might die in the expedition*.—Such was the statute enacted at Mans, and which was to extend to all the transmarine provinces.

Thence he came to England, and at Gedington near Northampton, convened a great council. The above regulations were read to them, and received. The primate, having first taken the cross, then rose, and harangued the assembly; after which many of the clergy and laity, enrolled themselves in the holy warfare. Agents were sent into the counties to levy the tax, which they did with great severity, committing those to prison, by the royal mandate, who were refractory, till they paid the last farthing. The Jews, even, by a cruel stretch of power, were compelled to bear more than their proportion of the general burthen, and sixty thousand pounds (little less than a million sterling) were levied on their chattels. Immense supplies, indeed, were wanted, which could not have been raised by any ordinary process.—The crusade was preached in Wales by the archbishop of Canterbury, whom the historian, Giraldus,

accom-

* Hoveden. ibid.

accompanied: but the commissioners, sent to collect the tenths in Scotland, were not permitted to enter the country, and no contributions, it seems, were made from thence.⁷—Henry then sent ministers to the courts of the emperors of Germany and Constantinople, and to Bela, king of Hungary, requesting a free passage for himself and army through their territories, and markets to supply the necessary provisions. His request was granted².

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Philip, in the mean while, was equally active in France, where the ordinances of Mans were adopted; and his people shewed the utmost alacrity, forgetful of the calamitous issue of the last expedition, which themselves or fathers had so recently witnessed.—And in Germany, where William of Tyre and a papal legate had preached, Frederic called a diet at Mentz; and himself took the cross, in his sixtieth year, and the princes and nobles of the empire were emulous to copy his example. There is a letter extant, which, on the occasion, he is said to have written to Saladin; wherein, after having mentioned his presumptuous and culpable audacity in invading the holy land, he warns him to restore it, or that, when twelve months have gone round, he must expect to meet him in the plains of Taneos: “For
 “ doest thou pretend to be ignorant.” he goes on, “ that
 “ both the Ethiopias, and Mauritanea, and Persia, and
 “ Syria, and Parthia, (where our dictator, Marcus Crassus,
 “ immaturely found his grave,) and Judea, and Samaria,
 “ and Arabia, and Chaldea, and Egypt herself, (where a
 “ Roman citizen, Antonius, I say it with pain, disgraced
 “ his laurels in the arms of Cleopatra,) and Armenia, and
 “ other

⁷ Hoveden, et alii.

² Diceto.

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“ other realms innumerable, are all subject to my sceptre.
 “ Kings learnt this, whom the Roman sword made drunk
 “ with blood. And thou also shall soon learn the same.
 “ What our conquering eagles, what the cohorts of various
 “ nations, what the impetuous German brandishing his
 “ arms in peace, what the dauntless head of the Rhine,
 “ what the tall Bavarian, what the crafty Suevian, what
 “ the prudent Franconian, what the Saxon playing with his
 “ sword, what the Westphalian, what the active Brabanter,
 “ what the Lorainer ignorant of peace, what the restless
 “ Burgundian, what the Frisian advancing with his spear,
 “ what the Bohemian rejoicing in death, what many other
 “ people; in a word, what my arm, which thou thinkest
 “ age hath palsied, shall be able to effect, that glorious day
 “ shall teach thee^a.”—The answer ascribed to Saladin is
 not so wild, and therefore not so curious.

But the Roman pontiff, it must not be forgotten, was the soul, which gave vigour to the general plan. This was Clement III. who, the year before, had succeeded to Gregory. He wrote letters, dispatched envoys into different kingdoms, and disseminated the animating grant of indulgences, as his predecessors had done, whereby pardon of sins, under the condition of sincere repentance, was promised to the crusaders, and the protection of the church to their families and effects. Nor, at the time, did he lose sight of his own interest. He treated with the Romans, whose fellow-citizen he was; and granting them some privileges, which their inglorious senate principally demanded, he was permitted to enter the Vatican ^b.

But

^a Diceto. Hoveden.^b Baron. an. 1188.

But the preparations for distant war, which thus arrested the attention of Europe, could not preserve the internal peace of France. The irritable Richard, provoked by the misconduct of one of his barons, drew the sword, as he had often done, against his own vassals in Aquitaine, and, with the white cross on his shoulder, carried desolation into their towns, their lands, and vineyards. The rebellion, if it might be so called, was crushed; when, not to remain idle, while his troops were on foot, he marched them against the earl of Toulouse. The earl had taken some merchants prisoners. The impetuous duke overran his territories, and captured his castles: on which he implored the aid of Philip. The king rather chose to negotiate with Henry, who was in England; to whom he sent a messenger, requesting to know, if it was by his commands, that Richard thus disturbed the peace, and injured his vassals? And he demanded reparation of the evils he had done. Henry replied, that he had no concern in the present transactions of his son, and intimated, that he had been informed, that it was with Philip's own concurrence, he had hitherto proceeded.—The French king, dissatisfied with the answer, entered Berry with a powerful army, of which most of the towns and fortresses opened their gates to him; and on Henry's demanding, why this was done? The reply was; to revenge the wrongs he and the earl of Toulouse had received from Richard. The primate and another prelate were sent into France, to appease Philip; which proving ineffectual, Henry was compelled to leave England, and with a large body of Welshmen he landed in Normandy. Soon an army of his continental subjects was gathered round

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Hostilities in France.

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him ; but, in the mean time, Richard had opposed the French in Berry, and, with much activity, had supported his father's cause^c.

While towns and villages were thus desolated, Henry, whom long experience had rendered temperate, by fresh messengers acquainted Philip, that, unless he repaired the wrongs he had done him, he must expect instant war. "I shall not desist," replied the high-spirited youth, " till the province of Berry, and the Norman Vexin be subjected to my domain." Henry entered the French territory, and ravaged the country to the gates of Mante; while Richard was present in every action, and displayed his usual prowess. The kings, however, were brought to a conference in the plain near Gisors, so often mentioned, under a spreading elm, the ordinary place of interview. Nothing was settled, and the conference ending with much heat on both sides, Philip, in wayward anger, commanded the tree to be felled, which, with its benignant branches, had, for ages, given shelter, says the historian, to his ancestors and the dukes of Normandy. But the earls of Flanders and Blois, with other nobles of France, now laid down their arms, saying, they would bear them no more against christians, till they returned from Palestine. This occasioned another conference, which was equally fruitless; but, soon afterwards, Richard sent an offer to the French monarch, that he would attend his court of justice, and submit his cause, concerning the restitution of the territory he had taken from the earl of Touloufe, to its decision; that thus, he added, peace may be concluded between you and my

^c Hoveden. Dicet.

my father. This proposal of his son much displeased BOOK III.
1188.
Henry^d.

It was now very generally reported, that Henry meant to leave the crown of England to John, for whom he had ever shewn a partial fondness, or to sever from it, in his favour, a considerable part of his continental dominions^e. The report, though weakly grounded perhaps, would naturally irritate, and excite the jealousy of Richard; and, from this time, he seems to have courted the friendship, and thrown himself on the protection of Philip. He accompanied his father, in the month of November, to a third interview with the French king; when the latter offered a restitution of the places he had taken, on condition, that Henry delivered up his sister Adelais to Richard, and allowed him, as his heir, to receive the homage of all the vassals of his crown. Henry's answer was peremptory; that he would do neither. Warm altercations ensued; but a truce was concluded, till the feast of St. Hilary. Richard then, in the hearing of a numerous circle, entreated his father, to secure to him, as his heir, the succession of his crown. The king answered unsatisfactorily, and the son, in vain, repeated his petition: "I now see," he exclaimed, "that to be probable, which I before thought incredible;" alluding, doubtless, to the report I mentioned. Then turning to Philip, he unbuckled his sword, and stretching out his hands, on his knees did homage to him, for all the fiefs his father held in France, with a reserve of the fealty he owed to Henry, begging his assistance to protect his just rights. The assembly separated in astonishment; and Henry

^d Hoveden.^e Gervas. Neubrig.

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withdrew, revolving in his mind, says the historian, what might be the issue of this unexpected transaction. But he sent the son of Rosamond into Anjou, and himself departed towards Aquitaine, to provide for the general defence of the country ^f.

This conduct of Henry to his son was ungenerous, and almost justified the step he took. Experience, indeed, had taught him not to surrender unnecessary power, or to confer unnecessary honours; for fresh on his recollection was the behaviour of his eldest son; but Richard only requested the confirmation of his undoubted claim. I am disposed to think, there was truth in the report, of his too partial views on the younger brother. And his attachment to Adelais must not be forgotten, which is the clue, perhaps, that can alone unfold every minute circumstance of these extraordinary proceedings.

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When the truce expired, the allies, whose forces, during winter, had been much augmented, by a very general defection in the provinces, began their incursions on Henry's lands. But a cardinal legate, with the olive branch, appeared, and interposing all the authority of his master, to impede the further progress of war, prevailed on the kings to submit the arbitration of their quarrel to him, and to the archbishops of Canterbury, of Rheims, of Bourges, and of Rouen. A conference, for this decision, was appointed at La Ferté-Bernard, during the feast of Whitsuntide. They met; and seldom had a more brilliant congress been seen. Philip then demanded that his sister Adelais, whom the king, he said, had kept in close custody more than

twenty

^f Hoveden. Gervas. Diceto.

twenty years, should be surrendered to Richard; that BOOK III.
homage should be done to the duke, by his father's vassals,
^{1189.} as a security of his title to the throne; and that John, instead of Henry, should accompany his brother into Palestine. If these conditions were admitted, he would restore, he said, to the English monarch all the conquests he had made.

However reasonable, and, on the side of Philip, disinterested, these demands may seem, Henry rejected them all: but, at the same time, with a weak policy, offered, that he would do more than accept the proffered terms, would Philip consent, that Adelais should be given to the younger brother. As became him, he refused it. The assembly, therefore, was breaking up in anger, when the legate, turning to Philip, threatened his realm with an immediate interdict, if he did not compose all his differences with the English king. "I do not fear your interdict," replied the spirited prince, "nor shall I heed it, as it rests "on no equity. It belongs not to Rome, to pronounce "censures on my realm, when I judge it expedient, for "the honour of my crown, to chastise my offending and "rebellious vassals. But you have tasted the English ster- "lings, I see."—The observation, I believe, was not less true, than it was pointed; for Henry, by long experience, had been taught to know, what mode of negotiation pleased the Romans best.

Hostilities recommenced with great fury; but every thing gave way before the superior strength of the combined armies. The earldom of Maine was the seat of war. Henry feared

* Hoveden. Gerv. an. 1189.

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feared for Mans, and threw himself into it, with some chosen forces. It was the city he loved : there lay the body of his father, and it was his own birth-place. But it was attacked, nearly burned to the ground, and taken. The king escaped with seven hundred horse, abandoning his friends in the city, whom he had promised to defend, and shewing his back to the enemy, which till now they had never seen. He moved from castle to castle, till he arrived safe at Saumur, a strong town in Anjou. But the confederates, leaving the ruins of Mans, marched towards Tours, while every fortrefs, on the road, submitted to them ; and Tours itself was, in a few days, also taken. On the eve of this event, however, with the consent of Philip, mediators of great respect, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims, waited on Henry, to propose to him, a plan of general pacification. He assented to it ; for nothing else, it seemed, could check the torrent of misfortunes, which the success of his opponents, aided by the increasing defection of his own vassals, did hourly swell to the most alarming magnitude. He moved not from Saumur, bewildered in a maze of difficulties, while his provinces were crumbling round him : and now also he heared, it is said, that many of those, he had favoured most, were preparing to leave him. Ranulph de Glanville in England, indeed, where no discord had yet appeared, was collecting an army to bring to his assistance ; and he had the consolation to have his chancellor, the son of Rosamond, near him, who, with the prowess of a warrior had resisted the enemy, and with filial piety shielded his father, as he retired from the flames of Mans. A conference

ference having been agreed on, Henry left Saumur, and BOOK III.
met Philip at a place not far from Tours, where Richard.
also was, and a great assembly of prelates and nobles. It
was the twenty-eighth of June^h.

On no occasion, had Henry come to an interview, with
a mind so bent and broken to compliance. Without reserve,
he threw himself on the will of Philip, and began by an act
of homage, which, agreeably to the ideas of feudal sub-
jection, the late declaration of war had violated. The arti-
cles of peace were then agreed on:—That the princess Adelais
be delivered into the hands of one out of five persons,
whom Richard should name, to be received by him in mar-
riage, at his return from Palestine; that all Henry's vassals
do homage to his eldest son; that no baron or knight who,
in this war, had joined Richard, return any more to his
father, unless in the last month before their expedition to
the east; that the time of their departure be the mid-lent
of the following year, when the two kings and the duke
shall rendezvous at Vezelai in Burgundy; that Henry pay
to the French king twenty thousand marks of silver; that
all the barons, subject to the king of England, swear, that,
in case their master do not fulfill these conventions, they
will join Philip and the duke, in order to force him into
compliance; that till this treaty, in all its parts, be exe-
cuted, the allies keep possession of Mans, Tours, and two
castles, which are named, or, if Henry like it better, they
will take possession of Gisors, Pacy, and Nonancourt, to
be held on the same termsⁱ.

^h Hoveden. Gerv. Neubrig. l. iii. c. 24.

ⁱ Hoveden. an. 1189.

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The kings, during the conference, were privately conversing in the field, when suddenly it thundered, and the lightning fell between them. Alarmed, but not hurt, they separated; and the whole company, says the historian, expressed much surprise, as no darkness had preceded the explosion. Again the monarchs renewed their conversation, and a louder and more tremendous clap was heared, the heavens still retaining their serenity. Henry was much affected, and had fallen from his horse, had not immediate assistance prevented it. In this agitation, which the stoutest minds cannot always command, he repeated to Philip the most unbounded submission to his desires, and a compliance with each article of the treaty; and then requested he might see a list of the names of those, who, in the late quarrel, had gone over to the enemy. The ill-judged curiosity proved the broken character of his mind. The list was given to him; and, at the head of it, he read the name of John, his beloved child! So closed the conference^k.

Henry dies.

The disastrous events of the war, which tarnished the glory of his arms; the reflection, that it was headed by a youth, whom he had known a puny infant; the defection of many, and the wavering allegiance of more; the articles of the treaty he had signed, humiliating to his just pride, and subversive, in one instance, of a hope he had too fondly indulged; the consciousness, which must often have recurred, that his own unwarrantable conduct had provoked hostilities, and that Richard, when the story of the quarrel should be told, would be deemed far less blameable than himself; the ingratitude of John, whose aggrandisement he had

^k Hoveden.

had sought, even at the expence of parental duty, while BOOK III.
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To attempt the character of Henry, while the reader who has viewed his conduct, retains each feature on his mind, would be a superfluous labour. But the description

Sketches of
charact.

¹ Hoveden. Neu-lrig. c. 24.

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of his person, which they who knew him well, have drawn, and some traits of his private character, may not be unacceptable.—He was about the common size, much inclined to corpulency, and of a form masculine and robust; broad in the chest, and nervous in every limb. His complexion was florid, his hair reddish, silvered, in age, by the hand of time, his head spherical and capacious, his eyes orbicular and of a grey colour, when the mind was calm, themselves mild and innocent, but in anger, tinged with red, flaming and furious as the lightening's flash: his face broad, leonine, *quadrangular*, and his nose long and well proportioned.—He neglected his hands, never wearing gloves, but in hawking; his cloaths were short, (on which account he has sometimes been called *court-mantle*,) calculated for expedition, his boots plain, and his bonnet unadorned. His feet and legs, it was observed, were generally in a bruised and livid state, from the repeated blows of his horses; yet he never sat down, unless when unavoidable.—His chief amusements were those of the field, which he pursued with an immoderate ardour. He was on horseback, before the sun was up; often fatigued the most robust sportsmen in the chace; and returning, sometimes late, sat down to a frugal meal, which was soon dispatched, and was then again on his feet, till an early hour called him to his couch. Thus by exercise and abstemiousness he opposed a disposition to corpulency, which indulgence would soon have rendered troublesome and unwieldy. His hawks were brought from Norway, and many from Wales; and he was particularly curious in his hounds, that they should be fleet, well tongued, and consonous.

His understanding was good, the general powers of his mind far above the ordinary level, and his memory most tenacious. He was fond of reading, well informed in history, and possessed a natural eloquence, which when his temper was unruffled, flowed with grace and perspicuity. He was affable and well-bred, facetious and communicative. When the amusements of the day, or the serious occupations of war and business were over, he sought the company of the learned, and delighted much, in a circle of churchmen, to propose subjects for discussion, and himself to attempt their solution^m.

His vices were the vices of the man, and his virtues belonged to the prince. If the first were manifold, so were the second. He wished to make his people happy; and the burthens he laid on them were comparitately light. Even in the forest laws his lenity appeared, because he mitigated their severity, in the eye of his ruling passion. But he was little loved, and he died unregretted. The reason was:— His foreign engagements detained him much on the continent, during which, in the administration of his justiciaries, the laws were neglected; or many evils, from the state of things, necessarily disturbed the public harmony. The very circumstance of his absence, to a nation jealous of their honour, and conscious of their superior weight in the scale of empire, was a subject of complaint; and when their king returned to them, it was often with a severe brow, to correct abuses, and to enforce the execution of the laws. The English, therefore, did not love him. They admired him as a warrior, who extended his

^m Pet. Bles. cp. 66. Giral. Camb. l. i. c. 45.

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dominions, and they seemed to share in his triumphs.— Nor was he well with his French subjects, the Normans only excepted. The monarch of France was to them a more natural sovereign: he was always at hand to protect them; and besides, it was ever his aim, as the most obvious policy directed, to foment a spirit of opposition, to hold out favour to the refractory, and to shew himself to them, with the benign aspect of their suzerain lord.

Henry is generally acknowledged, to have been the greatest of our English kings. I will not say, that it was otherwise: but when, in cool reflection, we take a view of England, as he left it, and of each particular province which constituted the wide empire of his command, we are compelled to own, that he had done little to improve their laws, to correct their manners, to extend their commerce, to diffuse the light of science, to spread the blessings of peace, in a word, to make them a better or a happier people. Added to the nominal empire he had. Scotland had done homage to him, and Ireland, it may be said, had submitted to his controul. But never was a conquest more imperfectly settled. His reign, in a word, was more brilliant, than attended by any real benefits; more fortunate, than prosperous in useful and permanent success; and had providence added a few more years to its duration, we should have seen it terminate, most probably, in the melancholy reverse of all its acquired glory. He died unlamented; but the experience of the next reign, says the most philosophical of the monkish writers, taught them, in sorrow of mind, to look back to Henry, as to a great and good princeⁿ.

ⁿ Neubrig. c. 24.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E I G N
O F
K I N G R I C H A R D T H E F I R S T,
With the E V E N T S of the Period.

B O O K IV.

Accession of Richard.—First measures of his government.—He goes to France.—Discontents in England.—The kings depart for Asia.—The march and death of Frederic.—The kings arrive at Messina.—State of Sicily.—They pass the winter in the island.—Curious interview between Richard and Tancred.—Eleanor having arrived with Berengaria, the fleets sail.—Ptolemais is taken, when Philip returns to Europe.—Richard's exploits.—Disturbances in England.—The king leaves Palestine.—Is taken prisoner.—Negotiations for his release.—He returns to England, and goes into France.—Miscellaneous occurrences—Terms of peace between the kings.—Richard dies.—His character.

RI C H A R D left Fontevraud, having with a becoming piety attended his father's obsequies, when the pressing concerns of a wide and unsettled empire, at once, demanded all his thoughts. He was in his thirty-second year,

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Accession of Richard.

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year, practised in policy, and inured in government, as far as he valued either; and he valued both, as they tended to gratify his ruling passion,—an immoderate thirst of military glory. The provinces of Aquitaine, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, he settled, as firmly as the press of business would allow, and hastened into Normandy. At Rouen, in the presence of the prelates and nobility, he received from the archbishop the ducal sword; and homage was done to him by all the vassals of the province. He and Philip then met on the confines. The demand of the latter of Gisors and other frontier castles, Richard rejected, alledging, that the surrender would be hurtful to his fame; but he offered to add four thousand marks to the twenty, which his father had covenanted to pay; and this being accepted, Philip resigned into his hands all the conquests he had made. The opening was auspicious³.

He had sent orders to England, for the release of his mother from her long confinement; and with some instructions, dictated by a precipitate policy, he committed to her the sovereign administration of the realm. Joyfully did she leave the castle of Winchester; and with a royal retinue appearing before the people, she proclaimed an universal discharge to all offenders, for the repose of the soul of her husband, and commanded the prison-gates to be unbarred. The prisons, at Henry's death, were uncommonly crowded. She ordered an oath of allegiance to be taken to herself and son, whereby every freeman bound himself to defend them both, in life and limbs, against all men and all women. The process was extraordinary, but when a new prince comes,

³ Hoveden. Dicet. an. 1189.

comes, in the festivity of the moment, the forms of established order may be disregarded. Relaxed from the control of a severe administration, the nation received the princely indulgence with unbounded applause; acclamation rang through the provinces: but there were men, who censured the proceeding as extravagant, and saw the danger, which threatened the future peace of society. Richard landed in England.

In the choice of his ministers and confidential friends, he acted wisely, and shewed a proper deference to his father's memory, treating those, with a marked dislike, who, false to their allegiance, had abetted his own rebellions, and rewarding truth and fidelity, where it was least expected. But he restored many forfeited estates; recalled the exiles; and permitted not, as far as in him lay, a single heart to ake, in the whole extent of his dominions.—To John he was improvidently profuse. Besides confirming to him the earldom of Mortagne in Normandy, with a pension of four thousand marks a year, and giving to him in marriage, as had been before settled, Avisa, the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, with the vast inheritance of that noble family, his generosity still knew no limits. He put him in possession of seven castles, with all the forests and honours annexed to them, and showered on his head six earldoms, Cornwal, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster. That his intention was, to bind to him the heart of that vicious youth, cannot be doubted; but Richard was not aware, that, by such prodigal donations, he only increased his powers of doing mischief with more impunity.—On the third of September, the king was crowned at Westminster

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minster by the primate, says the historian who assisted at the ceremony, “ after a solemn and due election^b.” The oath he took was, to maintain the peace and honour of the church, to administer justice to his people, to abolish bad laws and bad customs, and to enact good ones.

A scene of horrid bloodshed disgraced this joyous day. The Jews, who were very numerous in England, and whom the late king had treated with lenity, came to Westminster with presents from their nation, and approached the hall, wherein the king was at dinner with the prelates, waited on by the nobles. Richard, with much zeal, had forbidden their appearance at the coronation. They were insulted therefore; insults were followed by blows; a commotion began; it spread into the city; it was said, that the king authorised the proceeding; and in a few hours, a general massacre of the unoffending Israelites was committed, while their houses were burnt and plundered, and many christians were involved in the general event of rapacity and devastation. Such as ourselves have witnessed, is, at all times, the licentious fury of a London-mob. Richard issued orders to quell the disorder, but they were not heeded; and on enquiry, it was found, that many distinguished persons were deeply concerned in it. The same tragedy was acted in other parts of England. Nor was it a common degree of iniquity which gave life to these atrocious proceedings. The Jews, by industry, frugality, and means not always honourable, had got into their hands the money of the nation, which they lent out at an exorbitant interest. That by destroying their persons, and consuming their bonds,

^b Radulfus de Diceto.

bonds, every contract would at once be cancelled, was the base casuistry of their christian debtors'. — Philip also had signalised the opening of his reign, by great cruelties to that unhappy people.

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First measures
of his govern-
ment.

Thus possessed of his crown, Richard received the homage of the English nation; and immediately turned his mind to the great object, which alone seemed worthy of his attention. To administer justice, and to rule a willing people, were to him no princely office: he would meet Saladin in the plains of Palestine, and rescue the holy cross from infamy. For this he prepared. His father's treasures he collected, which were more than a hundred thousand marks; and to these were added, if they were not comprised in that sum, the taxes, which had been levied by the statute of Geddington: But the sum he deemed inadequate to the exigences of the undertaking, and he resolved to augment it, by every expedient, whatever might be the consequences of such rash and unprecedented measures. The demesne lands, the honours, and the public offices of the crown, he exposed to sale. To the bishop of Durham, Hugh de Pusey, a prelate of great wealth, he sold the royal manors in his diocese, for six hundred marks; and with them, for a thousand more, the earldom of Northumberland, to be occupied by him for life, with its castles and liberties.—The king of Scotland redeemed the independence of his country, with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwic, for the trifling sum of ten thousand marks, doing homage to him for the fiefs only which he held in England. Scotland was once more free. The witnesses to this deed, after eleven bishops,

^c Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. l. iv. c. 1.

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are Eleanor, and John earl of Mortagne: and it specifies, that the vassalage, to which William and his country had been subjected by Henry, was extorted during his captivity.—The deed of sale to the bishop of Durham was signed by ten prelates, and by nine of the first nobility, headed by John. Other considerable purchases were made from the crown; and when his friends dared to blame the improvident measure; “I would sell London itself,” he replied, “could a purchaser be found.” Without a single thought for the honour or well-being of his own country, he acted, says the historian, as if he were never to return to it. But the sums he thus collected were immense, and his warmest views were answered ^d.

Some modern historians have permitted their minds so to be warped by theory, that, though they see the most authentic documents attesting such facts, as I have here stated, still vainly think, they can discover an English monarch, even at this time, limited in his prerogative, and subjected to the legal controul of regular assemblies, which they have called a *parliament*, or the constitutional representatives of the people. Henry, the last king, often met his prelates and barons in council assembled, agreeably to the feudal form as prevailing in all parts of Europe, and was sometimes, I knew, influenced by their advice: but the statutes of the most solemn enactment, as has been seen, he afterwards modified or annulled, knowing no constitutional authority, that could bind his own will irrevocably. In Richard we view a prodigal prince, who, the moment he has been seated on the throne of his ancestors, considers the

^d Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 5. Chron. de Mailros an. 1190.

the royal demesne, as a private property, and without consulting any council, disposes of it by public sale. He does more. The subjection of a foreign kingdom to his crown, which his father and the nation had deemed an event of the greatest magnitude, he severs from it, and gives it back its independence. Still, no public reclamation against these proceedings is heared from any quarter; the historians speak of them as of ordinary events; and the nation, doubtless, viewed them, as originating in no unconstitutional stretch of power. Men of the first dignity, even John more immediately interested in the concerns of the crown, unblushingly set their names to the deeds of sale and alienation of territory.

But ambassadors from Philip now pressed the return of Richard to the continent. Having, therefore, filled the vacant sees, and given that of York to his brother Geoffry, the son of Rosamond, whom the reader has seen bishop elect of Lincoln, and then chancellor to his father, he settled the administration of the realm. Ranulph de Glanville, disgusted with his master's conduct, had resigned the important office of justiciary, preferring rather, in his old age, to travel into Asia; and the bishop of Durham, whose purse was not exhausted, had purchased his charge. To this prelate, and to Longchamp, bishop of Ely, now chancellor, a man of mean birth, a foreigner, with neither talents nor probity, Richard committed the general administration, naming them justiciaries and guardians of the realm. Hugh took possession of the castle of Windsor, and Longchamp of the tower of London. But the latter was the favourite, and with him, says the historian, the king

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left one of his seals, for the signing of his precepts. A fleet of ships waited his arrival at Dover, where he embarked with a vast retinue, and landing in Flanders was received by earl Philip, who accompanied him into Normandy^c. It was the month of December.

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He goes to
France.

After christmas the kings met ; but they saw it necessary to postpone their journey till midsummer. They reiterated their promises of friendship, and in the words which Louis and Henry, on a similar occasion, had adopted, they pledged their faith to defend each other's territories, during the crusade ; they mutually exchanged the asseverations of their prelates and the oaths of their barons, to the same effect ; and they subjected themselves to the penalty of censures, should they violate this solemn engagement. Should either of them die, during the expedition, the survivor is to take possession of his treasure and armies, for the purposes first intended.—The principle of these reciprocal engagements is highly pleasing ; and they seem to mark benevolence of character, upright views, and a noble sacrifice of every personal and interested competition. In the prosecution of the plan, had the same spirit uniformly prevailed, the crusades had proved a school, wherein, the bad passions being extinguished that injure man, we had seen society, in an accelerated process, advancing towards perfection.—The intermediate months the monarchs spent, in further preparations for the great undertaking ; while every crusader, from the proud baron to the humble peasant, was busily employed in such adjustments of arms and equipage, as his abilities would admit.

England,

^c Neubrig. Hoveden.

England, under its new guardians, was not long at ease. Rivals in power, they quarrelled: and we see them summoned into Normandy; and with them many bishops, and Eleanor, and Adelais, and John, waited on the king^f. For the first time is Adelais now mentioned, and she is mentioned in the company of a lady, from whom, it may be presumed, she suffered much. Eleanor, jealous and vindictive as ever woman was, when now she had power, would not be inclined to treat her gently, who, she had reason to know, had possessed the heart of the late king. But it may be remarked, as something singular in the chroniclers of these times, that, detailing, as they do, minute events, they have recorded few anecdotes or court intrigues, which, while they animated a dull narration, would serve to portray the manners of the age. Of the private lives of princes they tell us nothing.—On Eleanor herself had been settled a noble dower; and she was in the plenitude of greatness, projecting a match for her son, in return for his munificent bounty, and preparing, it was thought, for a second pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Richard, still more to exalt his favourite Longchamp, with the advice, it seems, of the council he had summoned into Normandy, appointed him grand justiciary of England; and that no cause of dissention with his colleague might subsist, he confined the jurisdiction of Hugh to the country, between the Humber and Scotland. Longchamp returned; and after him soon followed legatine powers which his master had obtained from Rome. In pride of office, he encompassed, with a deep ditch, the tower of London, hoping

^f Hoveden, Gaufrid. Vinislaus. an. 1189.

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The kings depart for Asia.

To avoid the manifold calamities, that the armies of the crusaders had hitherto experienced, from the machinations of the Greeks, from the power of the infidel nations, through which their march lay, and from their total ignorance of a country, intersected by large rivers, and covered with forests and impracticable mountains,^b the kings determined to conduct their armies by sea, to take provisions with them, and, as far as might be, to maintain a communication with their own states, and the west of Europe. The regulations made by Richard, for the preservation of good order in his fleet, merit notice. “ He that kills a man

“ on

^s Hoveden an. 1190.

^b Hist. of Abeil. p. 362.

" on board," he ordains, " shall be tied to the body, and
 " thrown into the sea : if he kill him on land, he shall be
 " buried with the same. If it be proved, that any one has
 " drawn a knife to strike another, or has drawn blood, he
 " shall lose his hand : if he strike with his fist, without effu-
 " sion of blood, shall be thrice plunged in the sea. If a
 " man insult another with opprobrious language, so often
 " as he does it, to give as many ounces of silver. A man
 " convicted of theft, to have his head shaved, to be tarred
 " and feathered on the head, and to be left on the first
 " land, the ship shall come to."—He had appointed officers
 and commanders of his fleet, two of whom were bishops,
 to execute these orders with the greatest rigour. He then
 went to Tours, where from the archbishop he took the
 scrip and pilgrim's staff; but leaning heedlessly on it, it
 broke in his handⁱ.

Nor had Philip been less assiduous. Isabella his queen dying, at this time, he committed the regency of the realm and the guardianship of his son, to the queen mother and to her brother William, cardinal archbishop of Rheims. But he was also careful, to have this nomination ratified by the nobles of the land ; and to them he read his will, purporting what his desires were, in case of death, and how the regents were to comport themselves, in the administration of justice, in the disposal of vacant sees and benefices, and in the general regulation of the finance. His conduct was at once wise and provident, and it censured the wild and intemperate precipitancy of the English king, who disposed of the administration of his country, with the selfish and

ⁱ Hoveden. Vinis. Iter Hiero.

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and arbitrary injunctions of a despot, and left it a prey to tyranny and ambition. Philip repaired to St. Denys, and receiving the badges of a pilgrim, took from the altar the Oriflamme, the sacred standard, at the sight of which, it was thought, the enemies of God had often been discomfited.

Midsummer was come, and the crusaders from England and the provinces of France, were assembled at Vezelay, the place of rendezvous. The reader will recollect a scene which, among others, had rendered the plains of Vezelay memorable^k. The royal pilgrims arrived, and saw, with rapture, the combined display of their mighty forces, amounting to more than a hundred thousand fighting men, provided with every implement of war, glistening in their arms and armour, glowing with the impulse of a bold enthusiasm, and eager for the march. In the front of the respective bands stood their chiefs; and the colour of the cross on the shoulder marked each nation. The presence of innumerable bishops, and abbots, and monks, and clergy, among whom was the primate of Canterbury, half-armed, and half-robed as the ministers of the altar, gave a curious variety to the scene. In settling the order of the march, two days were spent, when the signal was given, and the multitude moved. At Lyons the armies separated, Philip taking the road to Genoa, and Richard that to Marseilles, at which ports their fleets were appointed to meet them.

The march
and death of
Frederic.

Though it is not my intention to give more than the outlines of this crusade, being tired of war, and having elsewhere detailed the character and extent of these expeditions;

^k Hist. of Abeil. p. 364.

ditions¹; it might be deemed a culpable omission, not to mention the march of the German army, and the fate which, just before this midsummer, had reached their leader, Frederic Barbarossa. Acquainted as the reader is with that extraordinary man, he must feel an interest in the event. Let it be recollected, therefore, that he had taken the cross in a diet at Mentz, in 1188: and in the following year, soon after easter, with an army of ninety thousand men, setting forward, he passed through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, where he wintered, having been harassed on his march by the troops of Isaac, emperor of Constantinople, not unreasonably jealous of the approach of so formidable a prince. Early, in the next spring, he passed the Hellespont, and advancing, entered the territories of the sultan of Iconium. In this country it was, where, in the last crusade, accompanying his uncle Conrad, Frederic had witnessed the direful overthrow of a mighty army. The present sultan had promised him a free passage, being jealous of the power of Saladin; but faithless to his word, in the defiles of the mountains, he attacked his troops, and every where shewed a hostile countenance. Frederic advanced, fought, and conquered. He even assaulted Iconium, and took it by storm. Caramania was open to him, and it seemed, that the passage into Palestine would be easily effected. In the delightful plains of Cilicia runs a stream, called Salef, which some writers have been willing to confound with the Cydnus, ennobled by the bathing of Alexander in its waters. Fatigued, and heated by a scorching sun, Frederic imprudently plunged into the

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¹ Hist. of Abel., p. 39, 362.

Salef : but the sudden shock struck a chill to his heart ; and he died in a few days, on the tenth of June. The command of the army devolved on Frederic, his second son, duke of Suabia, who continued the march to Antioch. But many had already perished, by the thousand accidents of so long a journey ; and disease daily thinning their ranks, when the army arrived in Palestine, they did not number, it is said, even seven thousand men ^m.

The king arriv-
tive at Mef-
linna.

Arrived with his army at Marseilles, Richard was much disappointed to find his fleet was not there. Impatiently he waited some days, when hiring twenty gallies and ten large ships, he embarked, and sailed. Messina, in the island of Sicily, was the next place of general rendezvous ; and it was now the seventh of August. The coasting of the fleet, with some description of the places which it passed, is minutely given by the historian. It touched at Genoa, where Philip was detained by illness ; and then proceeding along the coast of Italy, entered the Tiber, where being met by the cardinal bishop of Ostia, Richard upbraided the Roman court with its venality, which he had lately experienced in the appointment of his legate, and advanced to Naples. Here remaining some days, himself went by land, and met his gallies at Salerno, on the eighth of September.

The grand fleet had sailed from England and the English ports of France, as early as the easter-holidays. But a storm had dispersed many ; and it was the twenty-sixth of July, when a hundred and six large vessels, full of men and military stores, assembled in the port of Lisbon, departed thence ;

^m Chron. Ursperg. Append. ad Radovic. Iter Hiero.

thence ; and sailing along the coast, on the first of August passed through the straits, under Calpe, into the Mediterranean. We have then their progress along the Spanish shore, possessed by the Saracens, as far as Tortosa on the Ebro ; and thence, where the kingdom of Arragon then began, to the port of Marseilles, which they reached on the twenty-second of the same month, in less than four weeks from the time they had quitted Lisbon. Marseilles also belonged to Arragon, the realm of which extended as far as Nice. Finding their king had been gone fifteen days, they waited to make some necessary repairs, and again setting sail on the thirtieth, boldly quitted the land, and on the fourteenth of September, entered the port of Messina, not having lost a single vessel.—Two days after, came the French fleet. Philip was honourably received into the city, and the royal palace was appointed for his residence.

On the twenty-third, an armament was seen, proudly advancing between Scylla and Charybdis. The streamers floated on the wind, and the gorgeous appearance of glistening objects, announced the approach of an eastern monarch. But soon was heared the sound of music ; and the clangor of horns and trumpets swelling the breeze, excited a general admiration. The nobles of Messina, with its priests and people, and Philip the French monarch, with his army, and the English crusaders, a vast multitude, hastening to the beach, gazed and listened.—It was Richard, king of England, with his gallies and their attendant vessels, from the port of Salerno, which he had left, when news came that his fleet was at Messina. He landed, and after some conversation with Philip, repaired to the apartments

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sign.

prepared for him, without the walls. Philip, on the same day, sailed for the Levant ; but contrary winds compelled him to return into port, and the monarchs determined to pass the winter in Sicily^a.—The principal author, who describes these events, was on board the English fleet.

State of Sicily.

Tancred, on the death of William II., who, as has been told, married Jane princess of England, had been, this year, called to the throne of Sicily. He was a natural son, as is generally thought, of Roger, duke of Apulia, and first cousin to the late king, who died without issue. But Henry, eldest son of Frederic, and now his successor in the empire, had married, it must be recollect'd, Constantia, aunt to William II. and also aunt, in a certain sense, to Tancred ; and she was then acknowledged, it is said, by her nephew, to be presumptive heir to the throne. The Sicilians in general, and the court of Rome, under which the kingdom of Naples was a fief, had opposed the match. They hated the German name ; and it could be for the interest of neither, that so powerful a family should occupy the throne. Influenced by these motives, the nation looked to Tancred, as the only surviving male of the Norman line, and him they chose for their king. Rome sanctioned the nomination. But it was evident, that in Henry he would have a competitor, whose title, in the right of his wife, was acknowledged by many, and whose power, at all events, was formidable. Thus stood Tancred, unsettled on his throne, and menaced with rebellion, perhaps, at home, and certain war in his Italian states, when the two armies of France and England landed in the port of Messina^b.

The

^a Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 12. Iter Hiero. ^b Murat. an. 1190. Iter Hiero.

They pass the winter in the island.

The visitors seemed little ceremonious. Philip, it is said, before the arrival of Richard, had had an interview with Tancred, whose residence was at Palermo, or Catanea; and to secure his friendship, the Sicilian had offered one of his daughters for his infant son. The offer was refused.— But Richard, immediately on his landing, sent messengers to the king, demanding the surrender of his sister, the dowager queen, who was confined at Palermo, and preferring other claims. Jane was released, and came to her brother. He then took possession of a strong fortress, near the entrance of the harbour, wherein he placed his sister; and the next day, seizing a convent, he expelled the monks, and there deposited his provisions and military stores. The Messinese were alarmed: mutual insults and attacks passed between them and the English, which Philip, accompanied by many noble personages, in a conference with the king of England, endeavoured to accommodate. While they were speaking, an affray happened, which was followed by a greater tumult. Richard called to arms; and his men forcing their way into the city, the standard of England was erected on the walls. The circumstance irritated Philip, whose quarters they were; and the most fatal consequences were apprehended, when Richard consented to remove his standard, and to commit the city to the guard of the knights templars, till his further claims on his Sicilian majesty were granted. The misunderstanding between the kings seemed compromised; and they jointly published other regulations, for the suppression of disorders in their armies.

Richard

P Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

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Richard claimed from the king of Sicily his sister's dower, and a golden chair for her use, which the queens of the islands had always possessed. He claimed for himself, as heir to his father, the legacy which the late king, on his death-bed, had devised to him. It consisted of a golden table, twelve feet long, and one foot and a half broad, supported by two tripods of the same metal; of twenty-four silver cups and as many dishes; of a filken tent, under which two hundred knights might dine; of sixty thousand measures (*filinas*) of wheat, of as many of barley, and of as many of wine; and of a hundred armed gallies, with all appointments of men and stores, for two years. In the present state of things, it was cruel to insist on the last article. Tancred, by the advice of his ministers, proposed a compromise, which was accepted; twenty thousand ounces of gold to the queen dowager, and as many to Richard, in lieu of every claim. It was also stipulated, that a daughter of Sicily should be affianced to Arthur, the infant duke of Bretagne, and presumptive heir to the English crown. A treaty, likewise, of perpetual peace and of defensive alliance, as long as Richard should remain in Sicily, was concluded between them; for the execution of which the pope was made a surety, Richard, in a letter to his holiness, subjecting his territories to the censures of the church, if he violated the covenant.^q—Thus was harmony restored; the English name was feared, if not respected, in Sicily; and Tancred hoped he might look to an ally, whose arms would awe the German emperor. Philip, he knew, was too much disposed to favour his enemy.

The

^q Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

The leisure of the winter months was spent, in preparing the machines of war, and in careening and refitting the vessels. But the English king, of whom most is related, found ample time for the discordant pursuits of amusement and penitence. Impelled by such motives, as impetuous minds are prone to, he once assembled all his prelates, entered naked amongst them, with a rod in his hand, and prostrate at their feet, publicly confessed the enormities of his life. The historian speaks seriously of the event, and says that, from that hour, he feared God, and declined from evil.—In Calabria was a devout abbot, called Joachim, a prophet among the people, and peculiarly learned in the book of revelations. Him Richard sent for; and with his comments and erudition, he and his courtiers were much amused. Joachim expounded the sacred oracles, and by the remarks his majesty made, it appeared, that he also was not unversed in prophecy. Saladin, the holy man observed, was one of the seven heads or kings spoken of, persecutors of the church, but whose downfall was near. “How soon?” said Richard.—“In seven years;” replied Joachim.—“Then why did we come here so soon?” rejoined the king.—The prophet then remarked, that antichrist was actually born in Rome, and that he would be raised to the papal chair. Richard combated the propositions, manifesting some shrewdness in his scriptural researches. The bishops then entered the lists; and from the arguments urged on both sides, it is plain, that they, and Joachim, and Richard, were as intelligent in the mysteries of the evangelist, as any other interpreters, from that day, have been.

But

But in sports and feats of arms, Richard, perhaps, was more conversant. The French nobility often dined at his table; and it was usual to spend the evening in tilts and other amusements. William des Barres, called the Achilles of France, was one day his antagonist. They contended, and the monarch, by accident, was unhorsed. He called for another steed, and rushed furiously on the knight. Des Barres, though with difficulty, kept his seat. Words of reproach followed, and the king indignantly commanding him to begone, threatened him with his eternal enmity. On a former occasion, des Barres had broken his word of honour to Richard. Great were the pains, which the French king and others took to accommodate this difference; but Richard was implacable, when Philip, with a becoming courtesy, ordered the knight to leave his service. They were afterwards reconciled.—With a princely munificence, the English monarch then presented Philip and his courtiers with many vessels richly appointed; and amongst his own knights, he distributed his treasures with profusion.—But though we have reason to know, that his retinue was crowded with bards and minstrels, of which society he was himself a member, no mention is here made of their performances. Yet to their songs, doubtless, he often found leisure to attend, when in the halls of his castles, they strung their harps, and recited the prowess and bold achievements of heroes. The hearers felt the impulsive strain, and grasping their arms, panted for the field of glory.—Still Philip supported better the kingly character, engaging in no frolics, no starts of hasty violence, nor by insults

insults exposing himself and followers to repeated outrages and attacks : though somewhat jealous he might be of the superior riches and parade of Richard, by which he was far eclipsed.

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At this time, which was the month of February, Richard dispatched gallies to Naples. News had come, that Eleanor, the queen mother, would be there, with Philip the earl of Flanders and other company. That active woman, since the departure of her son, had not lost a moment. Stimulated by revenge, and in concert, doubtless, with him, she was resolved, that Adelais should never wear the English crown ; and yet was she sure that Richard, in his present intercourse with the French king, might not be prevailed on to take her to his arms ? In his different expeditions into Guienne, he had seen and admired Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre. Eleanor waited on Sanchez : she negotiated with him, in her son's name ; received Berengaria from his hand ; and with her instantly departed for Italy. To conduct them from Naples were the gallies sent ; but Eleanor, it seems, was not disposed to come, till Philip had left the island. The ladies proceeded to Brundusium, and the earl of Flanders only came to Messina. — Where Adelais had been left, is not said ; but it was, probably, in Normandy, guarded by as many eyes, as had watched the favoured daughter of Inachus.

Richard had an interview at Catania with the king of Sicily, which appears to have been their first meeting, and having prayed with him before the shrine of St. Agatha, he passed three days in his palace. Before parting, Tancred

Curious interview between Richard and Tancred.

* Hoveden. Diceto. Iter Hiero.

BOOK IV. 449. presented him with many rich gifts, out of which he would only take a small ring, as a pledge of mutual amity; and in return, Richard gave him *Caliburn*, the noted sword, which had once graced the thigh of the British Arthur. But our monarch did not refuse fifteen gallies and four other ships, which Tancred generously offered; and then accompanied him as far as Taormina, on his return. Here opened a scene of some baseness and intricacy. The Sicilian shewed Richard a letter, which the duke of Burgundy, he said, had brought to him from the French king. It purported, that Richard was a traitor; that already he had violated the treaty just concluded; and that, if Tancred were disposed to attack him, he, the king of France, would aid him with all his forces. "I am no traitor," replied Richard warmly, "nor ever will be. The treaty, I made with you, I have not violated, nor will I. But I can hardly believe, that the king of France would thus express himself. He is my liege lord; and in this expedition, bound to me by a sacred engagement." — Tancred said: "There is the letter, Sir, take it: and if the duke of Burgundy deny that he gave it to me, as from the king, I have lords in my court who shall maintain it with him." — Richard took the letter, and returned to Messina. — It is remarkable, that Philip himself, a few hours after, saw Tancred at Taormina, and spent the night with him.

The countenance and conduct of the English king soon manifested the perturbation of his mind; and Philip, as naturally, enquired the cause. He sent the earl of Flanders, therefore, to him, to say what he had heared from Tancred, and to shew him the letter. Philip seemed confounded,

founded, says the historian, and was silent. "I now BOOK IV.
 "plainly discover," said he at last, "that the king of
 "England seeks for matter of complaint against me. The
 "letter is a forgery. But to this artifice he has had recourse,
 "I believe, that he may break through his engagement
 "with my sister Adelais. Let him know, however, that
 "if he do it, and marry any other woman, he shall have
 "me for an enemy, as long as this heart beats."—When
 the words were reported to Richard, he observed, that he
 could never consent to marry Adelais: "My reason," he
 continued, "is. She had a son by my father, and I have
 "many witnesses ready to ascertain the fact."—Philip, on
 further examination, seemed convinced; and following the
 advice of his friends, he consented to release Richard
 from every engagement to his sister. Yet, for this release,
 the English king stipulates to pay ten thousand marks in
 silver, and, at his return, to deliver up with Adelais, the
 castle of Gisors and whatever else had been settled as her
 dower. Philip, moreover, granted, that the sovereignty
 of Bretagne, about which, probably, some words had
 passed, should, in future, belong to Normandy, as an im-
 mediate fief, the latter duke doing homage to France for
 both provinces. This convention was solemnly sworn to,
 and signed by both princes, and every cause of difference
 seemed at once removed¹.

It was the end of March, and the season for sailing: but Richard daily suggesting obstacles, the French monarch de-
 parted, and with him went some of the Anjevin barons.
 On the same day, came into the port of Messina Eleanor

Eleanor having arrived
 with Berengaria, the fleet
 sail.

¹ Hoveden. Diccto. Iter Hiero.

and Berengaria, the beautiful Navarreise. Pleased with the late issue of her son's negociation, the old queen only staid three days in Sicily; when leaving Berengaria to the charge of her daughter Jane, she again sailed for Italy, with a commission to the pope, (as the unsuspecting Richard had requested,) in favour of the son of Rosamond; in the way of whose consecration to the fee of York, many obstacles had been thrown. Eleanor was in her seventieth year.— And a few days after her departure, Richard put to sea with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, fifty two gallies, ten large ships laden with provisions, and many small vessels. The number of the forces is not mentioned. But a furious tempest soon assailed the fleet. It was dispersed: three of the ships, on board of one of which were the princesses, were driven on the coast of Cyprus; and of those three two were wrecked. Isaac, prince of the island, who had assumed the title of emperor, pillaged the stranded vessels, and threw into prison the mariners and men who had escaped. The discourteous savage even refused liberty to the princesses of entering the harbour of Limisso, in the mouth of which they saw their companions perish. In this situation of distress they were soon found by Richard, who, with great moderation, sent to request the release of his men, and the restitution of their property. But receiving a peremptory and insolent refusal, he disembarked his army; defeated the tyrant who opposed his landing; entered Limisso by storm; gained, the next day, a second victory; obliged Isaac to surrender at discretion; and in a short time the whole island submitting and doing homage to him, he appointed governors over it, and sent the emperor in silver chains to Tripoli.

I can-

I cannot omit the description of Richard going to an interview with the prince, before his captivity, in the plain of Limisso, given by the historian who was present. — He entered the plain, he says, and his horse was led before him. The horse was of Spanish race, tall and elegantly built, his neck long and arched, his chest broad, his legs bony, his hoofs spreading; in a word, the proportion of his frame, and the round firmness of his limbs, defied the pencil of the ablest artist. He champed his golden bit, and with restless eagerness submitted reluctantly to the rein. Richard vaulted on his back. The saddle, spotted with precious stones, glistened to the sun, and two lions of gold, placed behind on the crupper, with one foot in act to strike, seemed to growl defiance. The monarch's spurs were of gold. A satin tunic, rose-coloured, was bound round his waist; and his mantle, striped in straight lines, and adorned with half-moons of solid silver, shone, besides, with brilliant orbs, in imitation of the solar system. His sword of tempered steel hung on his thigh. The hilt was of gold, the belt of silk, and silver plates bound the edges of the scabbard. On his head he wore a scarlet bonnet, on which were embroidered in gold the various figures of birds and beasts. He came forward with a truncheon in his hand, whilst the spectators eyed with wonder the gorgeous champion of the cross.⁴

Now he married Berengaria, and crowned her queen of England. But, at the same time, he introduced to her a dangerous rival, the only daughter of the Cypriot prince, whom he appointed the companion of their journeys. The fleet

BOOK IV. 291. fleet then sailed, and arrived before Acre or Ptolemais about the eighth of June*.

It was as the fleet approached to Ptolemais, that happened the famous naval combat between a single ship of the Saracens, of unusual bulk, and the English galleys. Though often boarded, with great carnage, on both sides, the assailants were compelled to retire; when Richard commanded his men to sink the vessel. I have observed, that the galleys were armed with an iron spur at the prow. They withdrew to some distance, when the rowers furiously bearing forward, the iron points bored the vessel's sides: the sea entered; and she sank, with all her stores, her machines of war, her experienced soldiers, and her Greek-fire, designed for the relief of Ptolemais.

Ptolemais is taken, when Philip returns to Europe.

In the year following the loss of Jerusalem, when Lusignan, its king, had been rescued from captivity, was begun the siege of Ptolemais. The united forces of all the christians in Palestine conspired in the attack; and the chosen generals and troops of Saladin as bravely fought within its walls. It was now the third year of the siege. The remains of the German army, under young Frederic, had joined the besiegers, and separate bodies of adventurers continually poured in from the west. Saladin, knowing the valour of his men, had long disregarded the vain attack; but when he saw the mighty swell of enemies, for they could now number a hundred thousand men, he collected his forces, and sat down within their sight. Battles by sea and land, attacks on the walls, and furious sallies, now followed in direful succession. Ptolemais was not shaken. It stood

near

* Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. l. iv. c. 19. Iter Hiero.

near the sea, and could be supplied with provisions, and every necessary succour. In the christian camp, famine and disease had begun to rage, and the hopes of success daily weakened; when the arrival of the French king inspired new vigour into every arm. With great address, he disposed his forces, and, within the course of a few weeks, an assailable breach was made. But the kings, that the glory of the conquest might be equally divided, had agreed, before their separation, that the walls should not be assaulted, in the absence of either. Philip, therefore, waited the arrival of the king of England: but when that had happened, fresh causes of dissention arose, jealousies were increased, and the different bodies of crusaders taking sides, as interest or caprice directed, helped to aggravate every offence, and every motive of suspicion. The place, however, surrendered on the twelfth of July^w.

The number of men said to have perished during this memorable siege, exceeds all belief. Historians speak of three hundred thousand, among whom were many of the first distinction; Frederic duke of Suabia, Philip earl of Flanders, with a long list of French nobility; and on the side of the English, Ranulph de Glanville, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, and many more. — The christian army was now ready for other achievements; and Saladin, whose kingdom had lately been assailed by the sons of Noureddin, had reason to fear the progress of their arms, thus auspiciously begun.

What next should be attempted, was in anxious agitation —when Philip, ten days after the surrender of Acre, announced

^w Hoveden. Neubrig. Iter Hiero. et alii.

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nounced his intention of returning to Europe!—His health, it is known, was impaired: he might be jealous of the increasing popularity of his rival: it was evident, that their animosities must soon break through every barrier, which his policy and more prudent reserve had hitherto maintained: but an impelling motive, perhaps, was the death of the earl of Flanders, by which a considerable succession devolved on him; and this it was the interest of his crown to secure. Powerful, at all events, were the motives, which could reconcile him to a step, that must expose him to the censure of the christian world, and blast, perhaps, the fair fame of his hitherto admired reign. Richard opposed the measure: and as they had mutually covenanted, that neither should desert the cause, without the other's consent, it was not with ease, that he complied; and only, after Philip had renewed his oath, to do nothing hostile against his dominions, till he should himself be returned to them. Philip then departed, leaving behind him, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, ten thousand foot, and five hundred knights; and passing by Rome, arrived in France, towards the close of the year².

Richard's ex-
ploits.

A few days after the departure of the French king, a horrid scene of barbarity was exhibited in both the camps. The terms of the capitulation of Acre were; that the true cross, which had been taken in the battle of Tiberias, should be delivered up, and with it a certain number of christian captives; that the Saracen prisoners should be redeemed, at a stipulated price; and if these conditions were not complied with, within so many days, that the lives of

the

* Hoveden. Neubrig. Iter Hiero. et alii.

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the prisoners should be at the king's mercy. Richard apprised Saladin of the near approach of the fatal day. The sultan requested a prolongation of the term, and sent him presents of great value, hoping to bend his savage heart. But his request was refused, and the presents returned; on which Saladin, in cruel resentment, ordered the christian captives to be executed. Richard, true to his honour, even when violating the laws of nature, waited as yet five days, because only then the term would be expired. He then drew out his prisoners, almost three thousand men, within sight of the Saracen camp, and, at a signal given, the three thousand heads fell. The duke of Burgundy also performed a similar tragedy, but not with the same parade. Richard, in a letter written on the occcation, speaks of the transaction, as a work of meritorious duty; and the historian remarks that, when the bodies were opened, much gold and silver were found in them. The galls, he adds, were kept for medical purposes^y.

Now it was resolved to attempt the siege of Ascalon. Wherefore, having repaired the walls of Ptolemais, and appointed governors, Richard left behind him the queens and his fair Cypriot, and marched with all his forces towards the south. The sea was on their right hand, which they did not quit, whilst the fleet, freighted with stores and military engines, rowed within sight of the troops, and supplied them with necessaries. Saladin, with an infinite host, attended on the christian army, moving along the hills by their sides, and watching the favourable moment of attack. Between Cefarea and Joppe, he made an attack on the rear;

^y Hoveden. Ep. Richard. ad Ab. Claraval. Iter Hiero.

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but was repulsed with considerable loss. — On this occasion it is, that some romantic writers of the age describe a pitched battle, fought on the seventh of September, wherein Richard was seen to perform feats of valour, which the eyes of mortals had not before witnessed. With his battle-axe, in the head of which were twenty pounds of tempered steel, he cleaved the bones of the Saracens, rallied his men, restored the fight where it flagged, unhorsed Saladin, and gained a complete victory, leaving forty thousand of the enemy dead upon the plain ! This is fiction. Richard himself relates the events of the day, which were only the attack, I mentioned, and the repulse ; and with the modesty of a brave man, does not even say, that he was engaged in the affray. James de Avesnes, an officer of great distinction, was the only man, he says, that was slain ². — It is not willingly that I detract from the heroic achievements of our lion-hearted monarch ; but his own statement, as he writes it to his friends, might, I thought, be admitted as the best authority.

After this check, Saladin did not molest their march. They entered Joppe, the fortifications of which they restored ; and proceeding, heared that the enemy had also quitted Ascalon, and the other maritime places, having levelled the walls and laid waste the country. To repair these cities was a measure which the wisest policy dictated ; and Richard began the work, and, during the autumn, was busily employed in erecting fortresses, in sinking ditches round the towns, and in raising such bulwarks, as were deemed most necessary. The coast from Ptolemais to Ascalon became a chain of well-fortified posts. He then returned with

² Hoveden. et ep. ut ante ap. eundem : Sed vide Vinifal. in Iter Hiero.

with his army to Joppe, resolving, immediately after Christmas, to march against Jerusalem. But his forces were now considerably diminished; his treasures, which he distributed with an equal and lavish generosity wherever there was want, were nearly exhausted; and he saw a disposition, as the enthusiasm of the mind, from a thousand causes, cooled, in the French crusaders particularly, to follow the example of their king. In some distress of mind, he wrote to the abbot of Clairvaux, whose interest in the courts of Europe was great, relating the events of the expedition, and earnestly entreating him, to rouse the princes and christian people to arms, that Jerusalem, the inheritance of the lord, might be rescued from the abominations of the infidels^a.

Whilst Richard was thus occupied, great dissentions had disturbed the peace of England.—Longchamp by his arrogance, his pride, and more than regal ostentation, irritated and disgusted all orders of men. To the laity he was more than a king, says an historian, and more than a pope to the clergy. His colleague, the bishop of Durham, and others, by whose advice he should have acted, he utterly disregarded, and held in his single hand the reigns of government. Prince John, restless and ambitious, thus debarred from all concern in an administration, to which he might deem himself entitled, listened to the complaints of the subjects, and thought he might draw advantage from the circumstance. His brother's return, from so distant and perilous an expedition, became daily more uncertain. But it was whispered, that young Arthur, his nephew, was destined to the throne, in case of the death of Richard, without issue; and it was added,

Disturbances
in England.

^a Ep. ut ante.

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that orders had been sent from Sicily to the chancellor, to provide for the event of the succession; who, therefore, had proposed a covenant with the king of Scotland, for the support of the measure. To frustrate this scheme, did John now exert himself. He promised redress to the malcontents, thus extending his popularity; and finding himself strong, he resolved to attempt the ruin of the minister. A remonstrance, signed by names of the highest respect, was drawn up, stating the grievances of the people, and was sent to the king at Messina. The king acted with much prudence. Instantly he dispatched to England the archbishop of Rouen, who was with him, a man generally beloved and experienced in business, with a commission signed by himself, appointing him and four other noblemen, a council of advice to Longchamp, without whose concurrence no affairs should be transacted. The archbishop arrived; and what is remarkable, so formidable did he find the power of the minister, that he durst not communicate his master's orders to him^b.

John was not so pusillanimous. Of his retainers and friends he formed an army, and threatened the chancellor with war: who, on his side, made equal preparations. Even conscious that he could not trust to the English, though, for some time, he had endeavoured to allure them to his interest, he purchased mercenaries from abroad. But prudent men averted the storm; and a treaty of a singular nature was concluded between them, as formal and authentic, as if they had been monarchs of rival nations. By this treaty, witnessed by seven barons on each side, it appeared

^b Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 14, 15.

appeared manifestly what was the earl's aim. Ten castles of the royal demesne were stipulated to be surrendered, without demur, into his hands, should news arrive of the king's death. It is also said, that Longchamp privately agreed, not to support prince Arthur's right. The infant was in his fifth year.¹

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The son of Rosamond having obtained a bull from Rome, not by the application of Eleanor, but by the urgent solicitations of a friend, was now consecrated to the see of York, by the archbishop of Tours; and immediately he set out for England, notwithstanding the oath he had taken to remain abroad for three years. Longchamp forbade him to enter. He disregarded the mandate, and landed at Dover; when he was seized by the minister's guards, dragged through the streets in his robes, and thrown into the dungeon of the castle. The deed excited a general murmur; and John assembling an army, which was joined by many prelates and noblemen, commanded his brother to be released. It was complied with; when Geoffrey hastening to London, laid his complaints before the prince, and the powerful attendants that were with him. They agreed to cite the chancellor to appear in the king's court; but as he despised the citation, they summoned him before a council of the nation at Reading, and fixed the day. He did not appear: on which the prelates pronounced sentence of excommunication on him, and his accomplices in the imprisonment of the archbishop; and the whole assembly marched to London, in military array. Longchamp, with his forces, retired to the tower. On the next day, a great meeting,

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meeting was held before the church of St. Paul, at which the citizens assisted. Charges were brought against the Chancellor for his usage of Geoffry, and of his colleague, the bishop of Durham. The officers of the king, with whom he should have advised, accused him of an arbitrary administration, directed by violence and a selfish ambition. And then, which is remarkable, the archbishop of Rouen and the earl of Pembroke, for the first time, shewed the commission they had brought from Messina, which appointed the former joint governor of the realm with the chancellor. They likewise asserted, which was not true, that the patent empowered them to depose Longchamp, should he be found guilty of maladministration. The charges being heard, the meeting proceeded, and deposing Longchamp from his office, they named the archbishop his successor. Nor did the business of the day end here. The assembly-general, with John, solemnly agreed to grant to the citizens of London a charter of liberties and immunities, (*communam suam*), dependent on the king's approbation; and they, in return, taking an oath of fealty to Richard and his heir, declared, that this heir should be John, if the king died without issue; and thereon did homage to him. The same was done by all the prelates and barons present. Longchamp then promised to surrender all his castles, and depart from the realm; which soon after he effected in a female habit.*

A curious, but indelicate, relation of this escape is given in a letter from the bishop of Coventry, interspersed with the severest remarks on the character and conduct of Longchamp, whose friend and confidential agent he before had been.

* Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 17.

been. Yet to shew how little can be known of the real characters of men, there is also extant a letter of Peter de Blois, a name not unfamiliar to the reader, wherein he speaks most highly of the chancellor, calling him a person famed for wisdom and unbounded generosity, whose temper was amiable, benevolent, and gentle.^{1191.}

Being withdrawn into Normandy, Longchamp acquainted the pope, Celestine III. who, this year, had succeeded to Clement III. of the treatment he had experienced; and his holiness warmly espoused the quarrel, addressing a brief to the English bishops, wherein they are commanded to excommunicate John and his abettors, and to make immediate satisfaction to his legate.—The English council wrote to the king, informing him of the measures, they had been compelled to take; as did Longchamp, stating the designs of his enemies, who, he intimates, are the enemies of the crown. But neither were the comminations of Celestine, though canonically promulgated, at all regarded; nor could Richard yet attend to the advice of his minister, which most nearly concerned him. For it was evident, that the views of John were directed to the throne.

As the name of the son of Rosamond often occurs, an anecdote may here be mentioned, in regard to the ashes of his mother, which belongs to the present year. It is known, that she was daughter of Walter de Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire, and was the favourite mistress of the late king. She bore him two sons, William, who will hereafter be mentioned, and Geoffry. Some years, before her death, she retired, it is said, to the nunnery of Godstow, near Woodstock,

^c Ap. Hoveden.

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Woodstock, and was there interred. Henry, who survived her, bestowed large revenues on the convent. A tomb, to commemorate her frail memory, was erected in the choir, before the altar, covered with silk; and lamps and waxen tapers were commanded perpetually to burn round it. Hugh bishop of Lincoln, a prelate of great virtue, and deservedly enrolled on the register of saints, visiting the religious orders of his diocese, came to Godstow. He entered the church of the convent, and seeing the tomb and its brilliant decorations, naturally enquired, whose it was? "It is the tomb of Rosamond," said the nuns, "the friend of our late monarch; and who, in testimony of his regard for her, has been kind to our convent."—"Take her hence," replied the good bishop sternly: "She was a w—e. Bury her on the outside of the walls, that religion be not vilified, and that other women, awed by the example, learn to turn from such ways of vice." The body was removed¹. — This is all we know of Rosamond; a name to which many ideas of beauty and misfortune have been playfully annexed, from its allusive sound, and from the fiction of an old historian, who, in wanton mood, could form a labyrinth for her retreat, into which might not penetrate the jealous eye of the injured Eleanor².

Richard, having spent the winter in fortifying the maritime posts, was ready with the spring to march against Jerusalem. But dissentions and jealousies had multiplied in the army, and men and treasure had decreased. Unfortunately, also, the marquis of Montferrat, whom the French and German factions had supported in his pretensions to

Richard leaves
Palestine.

to the throne of Jerusalem, was, at this time, assassinated, and the crime most unjustly was imputed to Richard. However, he was yet able, by a bold effort, to draw the jarring nations together; and at their head he advanced towards the holy city. It was the month of June. As the army halted, the eager monarch rode forward, and ascending an eminence, surveyed thence the walls and towers of Jerusalem, to which glory and the enthusiasm of religion called him. His spies, at the moment, informed him, that a rich caravan, laden with merchandize and provisions, and strongly guarded, was at a small distance. With a body of five thousand men, he attacked the caravan, and became master of the valuable spoil. It consisted of three thousand camels, and four thousand mules; and having distributed much of the booty, with his accustomed generosity, among the soldiers, he called a council of the chiefs.

Though the late success, the animating presence of the king, and more than all, the vicinity of the holy city, should have dispelled animosity, and united their resolutions, no symptom appeared, which could promise success to the prosecution of the great design. The duke of Burgundy held back, and his faction dissuaded from every further attempt. The city, it was known, was powerfully defended, and Saladin, with armed myriads, would attempt its rescue. They had done enough for their glory; and disease, and famine, and the sword, would soon dispatch their remaining squadrons. Richard despised the pusillanimous counsel, and offered solemnly to swear, that he would assail the city, and not desist, as long as a pound of horse-flesh remained to be eaten: and the like oath, he proposed

BOOK IV. should be taken by the army... The French not only refused it; but declared they would immediately return to Europe, intimating, that Philip had so commanded.—It is the relation of the English historian.—On this they separated. Nor could it be displeasing to Richard, thus to be furnished with a just cause of hastening back to his dominions, where matters, as it has been seen, of the greatest interest demanded his presence. But it could not be instantly executed. The king could not, in honour, leave the country exposed to the attacks of the enemy; and Saladin, well apprised of the situation of things, everywhere threatened invasion. The armies, near Ascalon, approached, and a general engagement seemed inevitable, when the sultan offered a truce to the christian generals. He respected, it is said, the valour of the English king; but it was his wish, doubtless, as circumstances were favourable, to accelerate his departure, without the further effusion of blood. The terms he proposed were; that Ascalon be dismantled, after Richard had been reimbursed the sums ~~had~~ cost him; that the towns, on the coast, remain in the hands of the christians; and that the pilgrims have free access to the holy places. The army joyfully accepted the favourable conditions; and a truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours.^b

Henry, earl of Champagne, having married the ~~heiress~~ of the marquis of Montferrat, had been chosen king of Jerusalem; and Richard, in compensation of the ideal crown which Guy de Lusignan thus lost, presented him with that of Cyprus, which remained, many years, in his family.—

Nothing

^b Hoveden. Diceto. an. 1192. Iter Hiero.

Nothing now detained the crusaders; they left Palestine, therefore, as they could. The queens, with their retinue, embarked at Ptolemais, on the twenty-ninth of September; and on the ninth of the following month, sailed Richard, with a single ship and a few companions. He wished to avoid every incumbrance, and by expedition to avert those evils which, he had reason to apprehend, now menaced his throne.—The reader, for a moment, may ruminate on the issue of another crusade, which had drained Europe of its treasure and its bravest men, few of whom ever again saw their native homes. And what were its fruits? Some towns on the coast, and some scattered castles! But the wretched phrenzy was not yet exhausted.

What route Richard had proposed to take, "does not appear: but, at the beginning of November, he touched at Corfu, an island at the entrance of the Adriatic sea, where he hired three gallies, and thence proceeding to Ragusa, was carried up the gulph, and by fits of weather driven on shore, not far from Aquileia. Whether from apprehension of danger, if known, or not to be retarded, the king and his company wore the pilgrim's dress. His beard and hair were long, and in nothing was he distinguishable from the inhabitants of the country; only that he spent his money with a usual prodigality; and this circumstance raised a suspicion, that he was no common pilgrim. Of the suspicion he was secretly informed; when ordering one Baldwin, with the company, to remain in the same place for four days, and spend more profusely than himself had done, he took horse, late in the evening, with a single servant, and departed. Ignorant of the country, with no guide to point

Is taken prisoner.

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the way, he travelled nights and days, little fancying, that every step brought him nearer to Vienna, where resided Leopold, duke of Austria, his mortal enemy. They stopt at a little town in the neighbourhood; and the servant going to buy some provisions, Richard threw himself on a couch, and slept. The servant was known, was seized, and taken to the duke. They threatened him with the torture; when confessing where his master was, a body of men was dispatched to the inn. Richard was still asleep; and as his eyes opened, he saw the chains that were to bind him. He was led to Leopoldⁱ.

Duke Leopold had been in Palestine; and at the siege of Ptolemais, having taking one of the towers, he planted his standard on it. Richard ordered the vain ensign to be beaten down. It was so; and Leopold did not forgive the insult.—It was at the end of the month of December, that the king was taken; and soon afterwards, on a promise of a share in the ransom, the duke delivered him into the hands of the emperor, Henry VI. a more powerful, and not less inveterate enemy.

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To England, under the prudent administration of the archbishop of Rouen, tranquillity had returned; and the measures of John were watched with a jealous eye. For a sum of money, he had made his peace with Longchamp, and had promised to restore him to his office. But the allegiance of the king's ministers, now animated by the presence of Eleanor, could not be shaken; and again homage was done to Richard.—In France, Philip, on his return, had demanded his sister Adelais, and the cession of Gisors with its

ⁱ Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 29.

its dependences, as covenanted at Messina. The governor of Normandy replied; that he had received no orders from his master: on which the monarch threatened to invade the province. But when his army was assembled, the French nobles refused to accompany him, alledging the oath they had taken, not to make war on Richard, till he should be returned from the east.

Now rumours were heared of his captivity; and bands of crusaders arrived who had beheld him sail from Ptolemais; and the ship, on which he embarked, had been seen in the port of Brundusium. But to Philip came a messenger from the emperor, acquainting him, that the enemy was taken, and chained in Germany.—As men's dispositions and interest lay, so were they affected by the news. It was a shock to England, where the most serious consequences might be dreaded, from the ambition of Philip, and the disloyal machinations of John. Christendom, in general, viewed the event, as an irreligious violation of the sacred rights of crusaders; and the thunder of Rome, it was expected, would soon be heared from the Vatican.

The archbishop of Rouen, as guardian of the realm, met the king's friends at Oxford, where it was decided, to dispatch messengers immediately into Germany. Two abbots were chosen for the purpose. They departed. His next care was to secure the state, and to provide against the designs of the earl of Mortagne. But John was gone into Normandy.—Philip, on the news of the king's captivity, irritated by the recent conduct of the governor of Normandy, and feeling a resentment of mind, which he had long harboured, had acquainted the ambitious prince, that

Negotiations
for his release

there

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there was now a throne within his reach, and that he would aid him to ascend it, on conditions of easy compliance. But the loyal Normans, when John came amongst them, requested his immediate co-operation for the release of their sovereign ; when he had the audacity to propose the surrender of their fealty to him. Receiving the answer, his baseness merited, he left them, and repaired to the French court. Here, we are told, he did homage to Philip for all his brother's transmarine possessions ; and, it was said, for England also, promising, at the same time, to espouse Adelais, though he was already married, and to deliver into the king's hands Gisors, with the whole Norman Vexin. Thus strengthened in his hopes, he drew together an army of mercenaries, and returned into England. The castles of Wallingford and Windsor were surrendered to him ; and he came to London, every where proclaiming his brother's death. He was not believed : and the ministers of the king, to whom he repeated the proposal he had made in Normandy, rejected it, with disdain, and were ready to meet him in arms. He flew to his castles, manned them, and laid waste the adjacent territory ; while the royal party opposed his depredations, and were active in guarding the coasts, that no succours might land from France or Flanders. The rebel standard, however, was joined by many^k.

The abbots, in the mean while, had reached Germany ; and as romantic incidents, on every occasion, were to gather round the person of Richard, it is related, that the place of his confinement could not be discovered. And then it is, that Blondell de Nestle, his friend and fellow poet,

* Hoveden. Diceto. an. 1193.

poet, in anxious search of his master, came to a castle, where hearing that a king was imprisoned, his heart told him it must be he. He sat down, and sang the first part of a sonnet, which they had composed together; and paused —The royal voice was heared from the window, in responsive melody, completing the stanza. Blondell sprang from the ground, and withdrew. This may be fiction.—Weary of their search, however, the abbots had entered Bavaria, says the historian, when they met a guard of soldiers, and looking, they saw their king! He was on his road to Haguenau, where a diet was to be held, to which the emperor had called him. They made themselves known, and declared the purpose of their journey. Richard, unbroken by distress, with a joyous countenance received them. He enquired about the state of his kingdom, the loyalty of his subjects, and particularly, whether William of Scotland was well and prosperous? This verifies the circumstance I before mentioned. They told him, what had happened, and dwelt on the treasonable practices of his brother. “ My brother,” observed he, after expressing much indignation, “ is not a man, however, to gain a crown by his prowess; if the weakest arm resist him.” — On the journey, his behaviour excited a general admiration, being uniformly firm and unembarrassed, manifesting, that he was above the caprice of fortune, and that it was not only in the field, he possessed the powers of a hero!

Richard relates, that he was received at Haguenau with much respect by the emperor and his court^m. In the public interview, however, the first aspect was unpromising.

Henry

^l Hoveden.

^m Ep. Rich. ap. Hoveden.

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Henry made many demands, with which the king would not comply, saying, they shoud take his life rather. On the second day, the list of charges was opened : That he had made an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily ; that he had unjustly invaded the kingdom of Cyprus, and dethroned its prince ; that he had impeded the progress of the christian arms, by his contest with the French monarch ; that he had been concerned in the assassination of the marquis of Montferrat ; that he had insulted the duke of Austria, before the walls of Ptolemais ; and that he had concluded a base truce with Saladin, leaving Jerusalem in his hands.—Richard refuted these charges in so free, so manly, so intrepid a manner, that the whole assembly gave applause to his defence, and the emperor himself joined in the acclamation. But to obtain money for his ransom was the great object ; and the king, in this transaction, either permitted himself to be imposed on, or saw the necessity of cheerfully complying with the unreasonable demand. Henry, with an affected benevolence, proposed to him a treaty of mutual defence, against all men ; and then promised to effect a permanent reconciliation with Philip. In return for the double favour, Richard engaged to pay the sum of a hundred thousand marks, (about two hundred thousand pounds of our money) ; while the duke of Austria generously mediated in the honourable proceeding !—The abbots returned ; and after them followed a letter, addressed to Eleanor, and through her, to all the people of England. Herein the king recounts part of what I have mentioned ; and then entreats, that the stipulated sum be raised with all possible expedition. “ Even were I at

“ liberty,

" liberty, in my own kingdom," he says, " willingly
 " would I give a larger sum than this, to obtain the benefits
 " of the treaty, I have made with the emperor."<sup>BOOK IV.
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Longchamp, when the news of his master's captivity arrived, had gone over to him; and it appears, that he had served him with fidelity. Richard speaks of him in the warmest terms of friendship; calls him his chancellor: and he appointed him to carry into England a golden bull from Henry. He landed immediately after the king's messenger, and proceeding without pomp to St. Alban's, was there met by Eleanor, and the ministers of the crown. He presented the insidious instrument, saying, that he came, not as justiciary, nor as legate, nor as chancellor, but as a simple bishop; not even as a citizen, but as a guest, and as a messenger from his lord, the king. They received the bull. It contained a confirmation of the treaty; it exhorted them to strenuous exertions in the service of his dearest friend, and faithful ally; and it tells them, that Henry shall regard every favour done to the king of England, as exhibited to the imperial crown, and that he will punish every breach of duty.

The insolent address either the ministers did not penetrate, or they concealed their feelings; for instantly measures were taken to raise the money. Without assembling any council of the nation, they ordained, that all subjects, clergy and laity, pay a fourth of their yearly rent, and a notable portion of their moveable goods; that twenty shillings be levied on each knight's fee; that the churches deliver up all their gold and silver plate; and that the Cif-

ⁿ Ep. Rich. ap. Hoveden.

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tercian monks and those of the order of Sempringham, who till now had been particularly indulged, contribute all the wool of their flocks, in which their property confiscated. But so exhausted had the nation been by its late contributions, that the money came in but slowly, and that at three different levies. Great severity, however, was exercised; and an historian accuses the collectors of oppression and peculation. The whole was deposited in the hands of commissioners, under the seals of Eleanor and the justiciary. In the king's foreign dominions the same tax was raised^o.

Whilst England was thus employed, the king of France and John laboured to obstruct the negociation for Richard's deliverance. To the emperor they made proposals; and an interview was agreed on, which, fortunately for the prisoner, did not take place. — Again, after midsummer, he appeared before Henry at Worms, when the busines of the ransom was resumed, and higher demands were made. Besides the hundred thousand marks, which were immediately to be paid, other fifty were demanded, for which hostages would be received, sixty to the emperor, and seven to the duke of Austria. To this Richard consented; as also to release the king of Cyprus and his daughter, and to give the young princess of Bretagne, his niece, in marriage to the son of the duke. When the first sum should be paid, and the hostages received for the remainder, then the royal prisoner should be released. The prelates and German nobles present witnessed this agreement. — Commissioners went to England, who received the hundred thousand marks; and, at the same time, the king ordered Eleanor and

^o Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 25.

and the justiciary, with many prelates and barons to repair to him. Hubert, who had lately been translated from Salisbury to the see of Canterbury, by the royal appointment, remained guardian of the realm. But the emperor was not yet disposed to release his prisoner ; and he amused his vanity with the promise of the kingdom of Burgundy, and many territories in Provence, the crown of which, he said, out of pure friendship, he would place on his head. Of the empty honour Richard speaks, with seeming complacency, in a letter to the new primate ; not reflecting, that the emperor's own title to the territory was ideal, and that they would receive no master from his hand. The twentieth day after Christmas was now fixed for his deliverance ; and in seven more, he would be crowned king of Provence or Arles, the region of minstrels and of Troubadours^r.

The king's friends, at home, remained firm and active, against the attempts of his brother, though they left him in possession of his castles, and did not impede his treacherous machinations with the French king. Letters also had been written, by Eleanor and the late justiciary, to the pope, urging his interference in a quarrel, that immediately regarded the honour of the holy see. Celestine was roused ; and he threatened all the enemies of Richard with excommunication, if they detained him any longer, or dared to attack his territories. But Philip's mind was still resentful ; and though he made little impression on Normandy, he did not desist. Gisors and other castles surrendered to his arms, while Longchamp laboured to effect a treaty of peace,

^r Hoveden. Pet. Bles. ep. 64, 144.

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and strenuously to support the interests of his master. Before this, Philip had married Ingeberga, sister of the king of Denmark, with an intention, it was said, to revive the fallen claim of that country to the realm of England; but he immediately quitted his bride, and confined her in a convent. The difficulties, in which this rash step involved him, were afterwards productive of much trouble.

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Understanding that the emperor would be necessitated to release the king, Philip now warned the earl of Mortagne of the approaching danger, saying, that the devil would soon be unchained, and proposing to him to attempt a last measure. They sent messengers to Henry with offers, which, they had reason to hope, his imperial virtue would be unable to resist. It was after christmas, and the emperor had gone to Spire, where Richard and a great court were assembled, previously to his release. The messengers presented themselves, and declared their commission. It imported an offer from Philip of fifty thousand marks, and of thirty thousand from John, if the emperor would detain Richard in custody, till the following michaelmas; or, if he rather chose it, they would pay him a thousand pounds of silver at the end of every month, so long as he should keep him prisoner; or, they would give him a hundred and fifty thousand marks, on condition, the king were delivered into their hands, or not released for the space of one year. —The needy man listened to the shameless proposal, and appointed a more distant day, for the accomplishment of his sacred word to Richard. This was candlemas: when again they met at Mentz; and before the whole court, and many English nobles, Henry did not blush to declare his unwillingness

unwillingness to let go the prisoner. Even the messengers were introduced; and taking from them the letters they had brought from their masters, he gave them to Richard. With a confusion indescribable, he perused that from the French king, and that from his brother, purporting the offers, I have mentioned. That his chains must again be riveted, he could not doubt; and he stood penive, desponding, motionless. But the German prelates and princes, who had been sureties for his release, were more honourable than Henry, whom, to his face, they upbraided with base venality, and a breach of the most solemn compact. Their remonstrance took effect; when Richard was delivered into the hands of his mother, after the archbishop of Rouen and other hostages had been named to remain in the imperial court. Thus at liberty, he speedily left Germany, and passing by Cologne, arrived at Antwerp, where many ships from England waited for him. He there embarked on board the galley of Trenchemer, a famous naval officer; and on the twentieth of March, landed at Sandwich, after an absence of four years, fifteen months whereof he had passed in confinement.^q

The joy was extreme on his arrival, and the magnificence exhibited by the Londoners, when he entered their city, struck the German barons, who accompanied him, with amazement. "Had our master suspected this," said one of them frankly to the king, "you would not have escaped so lightly." But the nobility were employed in besieging the prince's castles, and did not meet him. Various armies were on foot, at the head of which, in the north,

He returns to
England, and
goes into
France.

were

^q Illoved. Dicet. an. 1194. Neubrig. c. 38.

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were the bishop of Durham, and the son of Rosamond, the archbishop of York; and in the south, the primate himself, justiciary of the realm, was in the field. He had assembled a great council, wherein John was declared a rebel, and all his possessions forfeited; and on the next day, the bishops excommunicated him and his abettors. So great was the attachment to Richard, a prince possessed of no quality, which could make his people happy, and from whom they had as yet experienced only insult and oppression. But he was a soldier, and the glory, which his arms had acquired, dazzled the multitude. To the shame of human reason, such are the characters whom popular applause has magnified!

The castle of Nottingham still resisted, when the king landed, and he instantly marched against it. Here we find him, on the fifth day, after his landing, and on the eighth it surrendered. A council then was held, which was splendidly attended, the main design of which was to raise money. He confiscated the estates and honours of some barons, who had adhered to his brother; and he sold them, in the face of the assembly, though they properly belonged to the royal demesne. John was cited to answer for his conduct, and forty days were allowed him. On the third day of the meeting, Richard demanded two shillings from every *carucate* or hide of land; and he ordered every knight, according to the nature of his fee, to give him a third part of his service, during the expedition he projected into France. The Cistercian monks were, likewise, again called on for all the wool of the present year. On the last day, it was determined, that the king should be again crowned at Winchester.

chester'.—In all the transactions of this assembly, the language of the historian clearly insinuates, that Richard decided and enacted, without any reference to the opinions or votes of the meeting. In a subsequent negotiation with the king of Scotland, for the recovery of the northern counties, which his ancestors had held, the same historian relates, that the advice of a council was taken: of which the obvious reason was, that Richard disliked the proposal, and therefore wished the odium of a refusal to rest on them.

As with a shameful prodigality, before his expedition to the east, he had alienated many parts of the royal demesne; the same he now resumed with an unheard-of rapacity, alledging, that the purchasers had amply reimbursed themselves, and that, in conscience, they could hold them no longer. They submitted.—He was crowned at Easter, that every unfavourable impression, which his captivity had made, might be effaced by the ceremony; and soon afterwards he departed, with an army, for the continent. He landed at Barfleur, irritated by a series of ill-usage, and bent on revenge. Yet the events which follow are to trifling, as hardly to merit notice. The siege of one place is raised, while another is taken: skirmish succeeds to skirmish; and villages and towns are desolated. A truce is proposed, which miscarries; after which, a rencounter ensued, in which the French were defeated, and the military chest, with the records of the crown and other papers, fell into the hands of Richard. It may appear extraordinary, that such valuable writings should have been moved from place to place: but as the kings had no permanent court, and

the

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the decision of many questions, in the feudal tenures, daily came before them, it was necessary to be provided with documents, whereby claims might be ascertained or refuted. The loss of these records might have proved irreparable; but it does not appear, that any real evil ensued. Richard was an undisguised enemy, and valued not those means, which a more politic prince would have turned to advantage. But the French historians say, he would never surrender the writings, and that they were compelled to repair the loss, by memory and the best methods they could devise¹. A truce for a year was finally concluded.

Prince John, by the mediation of Eleanor, had been reconciled to his brother. When he heared of his arrival in Normandy, he quitted the court of Philip, and coming to Evreux, which that prince had taken and given to him, he invited the French officers to his table. Them, at the end of the repast, he ordered to be massacred; and the garrison shared their fate. The act of perfidy, he trusted, would recommend him to favour and with his bloody hands he waited on Richard, and implored his forgiveness. He forgave him; but did not restore to him either his castles or his lands.

1195.

Miscellaneous occurrences.

Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, guardian of the realm and grand justiciary, was indefatigable in the concerns of his office. Under his administration, a general tranquillity prevailed through the provinces; the justices made their regular circuits; and with order a spirit of industry returning, men began to recover from the late oppressions of taxes and enthusiasm. The absence of the king was a real benefit to the nation. Hubert had been educated under

Ranulph

¹ Daniel, Mezer, &c.

Ranulph de Glanville, and was expert in business, and the science of the English laws. But, on many occasions, he seconded, contrary to the conviction of his judgment, the schemes of Richard for raising money. His attachment to him was most sincere: he had accompanied him to the east, when he had been lately raised to the see of Salisbury, and there fought by his side. Richard, says the historian, was often astonished at his prowess¹.

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Tournaments, in which the lives of the champions were sometimes in danger, had been prohibited by councils and decrees of popes. The English king viewed them with other eyes, and he ordered they should be practised in England, where as yet they were uncommon. But, besides the military advantage to be derived from the exercise, he looked to pecuniary profit. When we know how exhausted the royal coffers were, and how much money was wanted to carry on a most just war against Philip, we may be disposed to pardon these measures of a prince, otherwise unmercenary, generous and munificent. He decreed therefore, that whoever held, or was present at, a tournament, should pay for a license, in proportion to the rank he bore: an earl twenty marks, a baron ten, a knight possessing land, four, and those without land, two. The justiciary warmly seconded the measure.

Nor was Hubert less vigilant in his attention to the church. As primate, but more as legate of the holy see, to which dignity he had been promoted, on the dismission of Longchamp, he held a council at York; wherein eighteen canons were enacted, to correct abuses, and to enforce a

¹ Act. Pont. Cant. p. 1679.

^a Hoveden. Diceto.

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more regular discipline on the ministers of the altar. This synod he convened at York, in which himself presided, that his primacy over the whole English church might be declared. At all times, had this point been litigated between the metropolitan fees, and had not Geoffry been absent from the kingdom, the legate's design had assuredly have frustrated.

The son of Rosamond, whose military accomplishments I have often mentioned ; and who, when his brother's crown was lately threatened, had exhibited the same allegiance to him, as he had to his father, continued to manifest as little of the churchman's spirit, as when, in his youth, he had been elected to the see of Lincoln. His temper was violent and arbitrary, such as the maxims of the age impressed. From the moment of his elevation to York, quarrels with the chapter and with the bishop of Durham, unfounded pretensions, and a disregard to the rights and immunities of clergy and convents, had formed a scene of contest and opposition. Complaints were carried to Rome against him, which represented his conduct as highly criminal, and his character as profanely loose and uncanonical. Bigotry and malevolence had given their tinge to the colouring. Commissioners were nominated by the pope to examine these charges, one of whom was the amiable bishop of Lincoln. They were examined, and many of them, it appears, were founded: but Geoffry had interest, by appeals to Rome and other means, to avert the sentence of suspension, which his conduct merited. With Richard also he had disputes, who seized his archbishopric, and the many castles and honours he possessed^v. I have

^v Hoveden. passim.

I have mentioned the bishop of Lincoln, the same who, on a former occasion, had disturbed the ashes of the reposing Rosamond. He was a friend to the people, as he was a foe to vice and general oppression. It had been a custom in his diocese, to present the king annually with a mantle, lined with rich furs ; and to raise this an immoderate tax was levied on the people. Hugh redeemed this obligation by a thousand marks. An order soon after came for a subsidy, which, it was said, the king much wanted. The good bishop saw the oppression, and answered the justiciary, that he would not consent it should be levied. Information of this was carried to the king, who, in a rage, commanded, that no mercy should be shewn to the refractory prelate. Regardless of the menace, Hugh repaired to Normandy ; when his friends entreated him, not to appear before the king, apprehending the violence of his anger. Richard was at mass, and the bishop entering the chapel, walked up to him. " Give me a kiss," said he, in a low voice.—" That you have not deserved ;" replied his majesty, turning to him. " Indeed, I have," rejoined the prelate ; " for I have made a long journey to see you, and it shall not be for nothing." So saying, he took hold of the king's robe, and drew him to one side. Richard smiled, and embraced him.—After mass, they withdrew behind the altar, when the bishop, taking a seat by the king, said to him. " In what state is your conscience? Sir."—" Why; very easy," replied Richard, " barring the anxiety, which my enemies cause." " Can you say so?" rejoined Hugh : " Do you not daily oppress the indigent; and load your people with exactions? Besides, it is reported, that you have been

BOOK IV. “ faithless to your queen. Are these light transgressions?”
1195. —He then exhorted him to an amendment of life; and raising his voice that the courtiers might hear, he declared from what motives he had acted, in his late opposition to the subsidy. The king’s behaviour was temperate, condescending, and friendly. As the bishop retired, Richard observed to his courtiers: “ If all prelates were of that character, we kings and our barons should have little sway over them.”

In this year, died the duke of Austria, whom Celestine had excommunicated; but before his death, he released the hostages, and remitted the part of the ransom, which was yet unpaid. The sister of duke Arthur, who had been promised to the son of Leopold, and the daughter of the king of Cyprus, were on their journey into Hungary, when the news arrived. The ladies returned.—Tancred of Sicily was also dead, and his crown devolved on William, an infant son. This was the moment for the emperor to make good his claim. He marched an army into Apulia, which submitted, as did the island of Sicily. At Palermo he was crowned, and thus ended the race of the Norman kings, nearly two hundred years, after the first conquests of the family. The riches of the kingdom were transported into Germany; its nobles massacred or imprisoned; and the dowager queen, with her son and three daughters, having graced the triumph of the conqueror, were consigned to perpetual captivity*.

Elated with this success, and in prosecution of some plan which he seems to have formed with Richard, while he

he was a prisoner in his court, the emperor sent an embassy into Normandy. They brought a golden crown, of great value, to the English king, as a pledge of friendship from their master; and their instructions were, to propose an immediate attack on France, in which Henry would co-operate with a powerful army. Richard mistrusting the sincerity of the proposal, dispatched Longchamp, who still held the post of chancellor, to the German court, to procure certain information of the emperor's real designs. The negotiation was void of success; but Philip hearing of it, declared the truce was broken, and recommenced hostilities.—Another inglorious campaign began, marked by similar devastations; and soon another conference was held. On this occasion, Adelais was, at last, released, whom her brother married to the count of Ponthieu. Some months after, the kings again met, and a treaty of peace was settled: but as it was broken, almost as soon as made, to specify its articles is unnecessary.

Nothing could allay the mutual animosity of these monarchs, which the slightest irritation roused, while the frontiers of both countries were made a scene of havoc. But they were in awe of each other's power, and feared to bring their quarrels to the issue of a battle.—At the same time, the earl of Toulouse began to stir in the south; and the Bretons manifested a disposition to revolt. Richard had demanded the tutelage of his nephew Arthur, then ten years old, from what motives, does not appear, and he had imprisoned Constance, his mother and guardian, married to the earl of Chester. The Bretons implored the protection of France, and began hostilities: but the English

BOOK IV. king invaded the province, on which they withdrew with their prince^y. I have said, how romantic were the expectations that people had formed, from the airy circumstance of the name of Arthur. 'They watched his growth, and augured empire from his looks.' The prophecies of old Merlin were to be fulfilled in the child.—The disturbances of Toulouse soon ended, when Richard gave to the earl his sister Jane, the queen dowager of Sicily. I have not said, that she had returned from Palestine, about two years before, with Berengaria and the Cypriot princess. They made some stay in Sicily; then went to Rome, where Celestine entertained them for almost six months, and failing under the charge of one of his cardinals, they landed at Marseilles, and were thence safely conducted into Aquitaine^z.

^{1197.} But Richard, by the money he had been able to extort from his subjects, now formed a formidable alliance. The young earl of Flanders joined him, and even the princes of the house of Champagne. But the vigour and activity of Philip could oppose this combination, and little was effected.—The most memorable incident was, the capture of the bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, and a near relation to the French king. Him Richard hated. He had ever shewn himself his enemy, and it was he who, sent by Philip into Germany, had done his utmost to prolong his captivity. The time of retaliation was come. Richard loaded him with irons, and ordered him to be confined in a dungeon at Rouen. Two of his chaplains waited on the king to request, they might be permitted to attend their master in prison.

^y Hoveden. 1196 Neubrig. l. 5. c. 16.

^z Hoveden. an 1194.

prison. "Yourselves shall judge of my conduct," said he BOOK IV.
1197. to them: "His general behaviour to me I forget; but one instance I cannot. When detained by the German emperor, in consideration of my royal character, I was treated more gently, and with some marks of respect. Your master came; and I soon experienced what was the design of his mission. Over night he had an interview with the emperor; and the next morning a chain was brought me, such as a horse would have hardly borne. What treatment he now deserves from my hands, say, if you are just." The chaplains were silent, and withdrew.—But the prelate sent a messenger to Rome, not doubting, but his holiness would patronise the insulted mitre. The letter, he wrote, is curious. "The king of England," it says, "whose irreverent treatment of his liege lord is known to all the churches, confiding in the apostate cohorts of his Brabanters, brought fire and sword into our country. When I saw it, mindful of the legal axiom, *fight for your country*, I joined the bands of citizens and the martial array of nobles, and met the enemy. But fortune, that step-dame of human counsels, frustrated our wishes. I was taken, and was bound in chains. Nor has the dignity of my order, or reverence due to God, been able to lighten their burthen, or to give me relief. Thus, like a wolf, has he acted to me; nor is your holiness, I believe, ignorant of it. Why then do you dissemble?" He entreats him to avenge his cause; bewails his situation; and insinuates, that a further delay may involve the pontiff in Richard's guilt.

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Celestine was not imposed on. He knew the bishop's character; and besides, conscious of the ill-treatment which Richard had experienced, he had declared himself his protector; had excommunicated the duke of Austria; and threatened the emperor with a similar sentence, if he did not release the king's hostages, and even restore the money he had extorted from him. In his answer to the bishop, he expresses himself in warm terms; he censures Philip, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, had invaded the territory of his ally, while he was in Palestine and in prison; he praises Richard, and applauds his just indignation, to whose arms he wished success. "The event of your captivity," says he, "was disastrous; but what wonder? Laying aside the pacific prelate, you would put on the soldier. The shield, the sword, the coat of mail, pleased you best; the helmet rather than the mitre, and a spear in lieu of the pastoral staff. The order of things was inverted." He tells him, however, that he will write to the king to supplicate his release, or a mitigation of his confinement. "In the mean while," he concludes, "bear your chains with patience, and be moderate."² — He was afterwards ransomed.

The confederates now gained many advantages, and Philip, seeing the danger to which his provinces would be exposed, endeavoured to make a separate peace with the earl of Flanders. This he could not effect; but the earl promised to become a mediator. And again the kings met near Andeli on the Seine, and another truce for a year was settled. Thus, with a facility, which the nature of feudal armies

² Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 22.

armies can alone explain, did they pass from war to peace, and again from peace to all the outrages of the most inveterate enemies. And such they were; but their potent vassals were often actuated by other motives.

I have mentioned Andeli, which became the source of great altercation, and which, in the next reign, will be the theatre of a memorable siege. It was situated seven leagues above Rouen, and with the adjacent country, belonged to that see. Richard, as the French, in their incursions into Normandy, often came down the river, resolved to erect a castle on a rock, near Andeli on its banks; and at the same time, to fortify a little island, which lay in the stream. The archbishop, though strongly attached to the king, and whom, as we have seen, he had essentially served, opposed the measure. The monarch proceeded; on which the prelate had recourse to the arms of the church, and, with an intemperate zeal, laid the whole province under an interdict. The office of the church ceased, and in the streets and high ways, says the historian, lay the bodies of the dead unburied. Richard, with great moderation, endeavoured to relieve his people; but not succeeding, he dispatched three bishops to plead his cause before the pope. He could not place it in hands, more inclined to serve him. The envoys met the archbishop at Rome, and both parties exposed their grievances, in a public consistory. The decision was favourable to the king; and the prelate was advised to compromise the dispute, by accepting such a compensation, as wise arbitrators should adjudge: for the king, it was observed, or any potentate, had a right to fortify any weak places, to secure the country from danger.

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They returned; and Richard, with his usual generosity, made an ample compensation to the see of Rouen, giving, in exchange for Andeli, and its rock, and little island, the towns of Dieppe and Louviers, with their appurtenances, and other places. With alacrity, he then resumed his works, on which was exerted the skill of the greatest engineers of the age: and on the island he raised another castle, in which he meant often to reside. To the castle on the rock he gave the name of Chateau Gaillard, intimating, that it should brave, with gaiety, the stoutest efforts of the enemy^b. When he could repose from the toils of war, here Richard spent his days, in tracing lines of defence, and in viewing the mighty bulwark rise. The milder arts of peace, which an imperfect polity and the languid state of society called for, he left in other hands. In his name, however, was a useful law, this year, made, which established one weight and measure, throughout the kingdom of England^c.

About this time, an ambassador was sent by the emperor, who was in Sicily, to offer Richard an indemnification for the ransom he had forced from him, in whatever manner should please him best. The king had lately paid the remaining sum, and discharged the hostages. Celestine was the occasion of the extraordinary measure; for he had excommunicated Henry, nor would he relax the sentence, though the emperor had raised three armies, and sent them, under his generals, into Palestine. Saladin was dead, and his sons and brother contending for the empire, the moment seemed favourable for another crusade. But as the ambassador

^b Hoveden. Neubrig. c. ult.^c Hoveden.

embassador was on his journey, Henry died at Messina, and his body was refused a grave. "He shall not be buried," said the pontiff, "unless the king of England consent, and the hundred and fifty thousand marks be restored to him." How the affair ended, we are not told; but the untimely death of Henry, whose son was only in his third year, involved the empire and the church in another sea of troubles. The crusade ended as others had done.

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Again was Richard in want of soldiers and money. The first he raised by a proclamation, that England should furnish him with three hundred knights, to remain one year in his service, or should levy a sum of money, whereby the king might be enabled to procure that number, at the rate of three shillings to each knight *per day*. No council was assembled to sanction the arbitrary measure. The bishop of Lincoln alone refused to comply, and he admonished the justiciary not to enforce the odious imposition^d.—The subsidy of money was raised, by a tax of five shillings, on every hide of land, throughout England, (which hide measured something more than a hundred acres, and was commonly let at twenty shillings a year.) For this officers were appointed, and a severe enquiry taken in the several districts; when the country was said to consist of 243,600 hides. But some lands, such as the free fees of the parochial churches, were exempted from the tax^e. Nor is there any council mentioned.—Rigorous researches were also made, to recover all debts due to the crown; and its various claims, under each head, were distinctly ascertained, such as forfeits, escheats, amerciaments, &c. The

^d Hoveden, an. 1193. ^e Ibid.

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1193.

weight of these measures, says the historian, was felt from sea to sea^f; yet were they followed by others, still more oppressive, because more tyrannical.

He revived the shameful forest-laws of his great-grandfather, Henry I. which the late king had mitigated. Armed with the terrors of absolute controul, the foresters proceeded into every county, and the prelates, earls, barons, knights, and freemen were commanded, in the king's name, to appear before them, to hear the royal mandates, and if summoned, to answer to their charges. The punishment, on conviction for killing game or wasting the wood in the forests, which the late king had remitted to the forfeiture of chattels, was again to be mutilation and the loss of sight; or rather, as it appears from a further clause in the statute, this punishment only regarded the killing of game, and waste was punishable by pecuniary fines. In all cases, the offender lay at the king's mercy, who could forgive or mitigate the penalty^g.—And here I must again observe, that no consent or advice of a council was asked, even in measures, which so nearly concerned the common interests of the nation; but the king repealed the late ordinance of his father, and revived an abrogated law with additional clauses, as if, in what regarded a supposed prerogative of the crown, he had been absolute lord of the persons and property of all his subjects. And such he deemed himself; such also, I believe, the constitution of the country then considered him.

As the truce ceased, hostilities recommenced, and were managed with an uncommon fury. Ordinary acts of desolation

^f Hoveden. an. 1193.

^g Ibid.

lation satisfied, no longer, these hardened princes; and they vented their rage by putting out the eyes of their prisoners. But the arms of Richard, whom the confederacy still supported, were most successful. Near Gisors a battle was fought, wherein the French were defeated, and Philip, in the retreat, nearly lost his life. The bridge into the castle broke down, as he crossed it; and he was drawn with difficulty from the stream. "He drank, that day, of the water of the Epte," said Richard insultingly, in an account he wrote of the battle. Himself had unhorsed three knights at a single onset, and made them his prisoners. The country was then ravaged far and near; and the enemy retaliated. — But the primate, who lately, at the entreaty of the pontiff, had been dismissed from his high office, to which Geoffry Fitzpeter succeeded, coming into Normandy, undertook to pacify this inveterate animosity. His endeavours were not without success: when he was joined by a more able negotiator, deputed from the Roman see. Eager to stop the further effusion of blood, and to draw these princes into another eastern expedition, the pontiff sent this minister. Who the pontiff was, I shall hereafter say. As the kings could not be disinclined from peace, they listened to the proposals of the mediators; and a day was fixed for a general interview^b:

There was in France a pious priest, to whom fame ascribed miraculous powers: who, at a word, could heal the sick and expel devils; and what was more, could prevail on the miser and usurer to give their money to the indigent, and look for treasures in heaven. He could also

pro-

^b Hoveden. Gervias.

BOOK IV. prophecy: and he warned the monarchs, that one of them would soon die, if they continued their hostile practices.

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Richard, who admired these extraordinary characters, received a visit from him. "I exhort you," said the priest, "to marry off, as soon as may be, your three daughters, "infamous as they are, lest something worse befall you."—"Hypocrite," replied the king; "thy falsehood is palpable: "I have not a single child."—"You have three, I say," answered the priest; "pride, avarice, and luxury."—Richard called to the nobles who were with him. "Attend," said he, "to the admonition of this good man, who maintains, that I have three daughters, pride, avarice, and luxury, whom he commands me to dispose of. I will. I wed my pride to the Templars, my avarice to the Cistercian monks, and my luxury to the prelates of God's church."—How Fulco, such was his name, relished the witty reply, is not said; but the courtiers laughed, and the historian, who tells it, seems to have been scandalisedⁱ. The prophet was, soon afterwards, ill treated by the clergy of Lisieux, whose scandalous lives he censured, and by the military at Caen: but neither dungeons nor chains could hold him, and he went about preaching, and doing good.

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Terms of
peace.

Richard passed the Christmas at Domfront, and Philip at Vernon; and the fourteenth of January was the day of interview. From Andeli, the English monarch sailed up the Seine, and Philip came on horseback, down its western bank. They met, and conversed familiarly, one from the side of his boat, and the other from his horse. The circumstance

ⁱ Hoveden.

cumstance betrayed a want of confidence. As they were BOOK IV.
thinly attended, it seemed agreeable to both, that another
day should be named for a more solemn decision of their
differences. This they agreed on; when, on the day,
Peter of Capua, cardinal legate of the holy see, and a train
of nobles, attended. In the assembly was but one wish,
that England and France should close their hostile contests.
Still no peace was made; and the mediators were satisfied,
that a truce of five years should be accepted; the terms of
which were, that all things remained on their present foot-
ing. The kings consented, swore to observe the truce, and
departing, mutually disbanded their armies.

Richard had been served by a body of Brabanters. As
these were returning homeward, under Marchadée their
leader, they were attacked by some French noblemen, and
many of them were killed. Marchadée rejoined his late
master, and complained of the unjust treatment: but
Philip declared he had no concern in it. The English
monarch then, who was called into Aquitaine, left Normandy,
and took the remaining Brabanters with him. On the
way, he heared that Philip had begun to erect a fortress
near the Seine, and had cut down part of a forest belonging
to the king of England, which impeded his works. This
was an obvious violation of the truce. Richard, therefore,
marched back, and sent his chancellor, the new bishop of
Ely, (for Longchamp was lately dead,) to tell the French
monarch, that, if the works he had commenced were not
instantly demolished, the truce was at an end. The legate
also interfered; and Philip promised to comply with the
just requisition. Richard was now sensible how unbinding
was

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was the compact they had formed, and that a measure of more efficacy must be adopted; wherefore, he proposed that a peace be concluded. A negotiation was opened, the proposals of which were, that the king of France restore all the places he had taken, Gisors only excepted, in return for which he consents to give up to Richard the nomination to the see of Tours; that Louis, son to the French king, shall marry Blanche of Castille, Richard's niece; that Philip shall swear to assist Otho, Richard's nephew, and son to the late duke of Saxony, who was now contending for the sceptre of Germany; that the castle of Gisors shall be considered as Blanche's marriage-dower, and shall go with her to the French prince, to which the king of England shall likewise add twenty thousand marks of silver. Such were the conditions; but as Richard could not delay his journey into Aquitaine, it was agreed to put off their final adjustment, till his return.^k He never returned^k.

It was now that the king of France acquainted Richard, that his brother, the earl of Mortagne, was again treacherously deserting from him; and of this, he said, he had a written document which he could shew. John, since the last reconciliation, had manifested every symptom of sincere amity and allegiance, and he had been reinstated in his vast possessions. Too lightly therefore did Richard give ear to an accusation, which might not be strictly true: he was enraged, and once more dispossessed him of his lands and honours. The earl was amazed, and demanded the cause of this sudden anger: of which being informed, he dispatched two knights to the French court. Their orders were,

* Hoved. an. 1199.

were, to deny the charge, and to vindicate, in arms, the honour of their prince, in whatever manner the court should determine. But neither the king, nor any champion in his court, would accept the challenge. No event could have proved more fortunate. Richard was convinced of his brother's innocence; and in the moment a warm sentiment arose, of which the happy effects will be seen¹. It is in itself probable, he had made overtures to Philip, though not in the decided form of treachery, which the latter had insinuated. Any thing may be believed of John; but the king of France was a prince of too much character, to descend to a measure of revenge, so base and unmanly.

While Richard was in Aquitaine, Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, his vassal, found a valuable treasure in his domain, part of which he presented to the king. He refused the present, and, as superior lord, laid claim to the whole, which the viscount would not surrender. Richard, whose mind never bent to opposition, with his wonted impetuosity marched an army against the castle of Chalus, which belonged to Vidomar; and where, he trusted, the treasure would be captured. The garrison offered to surrender; but the king replied, he would storm their fortress, and hang them up as thieves. In anguish they returned, and prepared despondingly for resistance.—The king, with his Flemish general Marchadée, then walked round the walls, exploring where an assault might best be made, and returned to his tent. He had been seen from the rampart, where a youth stood, by name Bertrand de Gourdon, who

BOOK IV.
1199.

¹ Hoveden.

BOOK IV. had charge of an engine. On it he laid a dart; raised his eyes to heaven; prayed, that God would protect their innocence; and drew the fatal cord. His aim, says an historian, was not distinctly pointed. But unfortunately, at the same instant, the king stepped from his tent, heared the cross-bow twang; and stooping his head, received the arrow in his left arm, just below the shoulder. He mounted his horse, and rode to his quarters, giving orders to Marchadée, instantly to assault the castle. He did so; and the castle was taken. He then ordered, as he had menaced, the whole garrison to be hanged, the man only excepted, by whom he had been wounded, him probably meaning to reserve for a more painful death. During this space of time, which must have been of some hours, the dart was in Richard's arm. Intent on revenge and savage butchery, he had not heeded its smart; but now Marchadée's surgeon attended, the expertest practitioner, doubtless, in the army. Long did he labour to extract the arrow; when the wood parted, and the iron point remained in the wound. He had recourse to his knife, which he used freely, and drew away the iron. As yet there was little danger; but, in a few days, from unskilful treatment, and more, it is said, from a disordered habit of body, bad symptoms appeared, and a gangrene ensued. The life of Richard drew fast to its close^m.

It was now his first solicitude, to settle the succession of his dominions, all of which he devised to John, requiring from those, who were present, an immediate oath of fealty to him, and commanding his castles to be surrendered into his

^m Hoveden. Gerv. p. ult.

his hands, with three parts of his treasures. Such was the effect of the late favourable impression. To his nephew Otho, he left his jewels; and the remaining part of his treasure, to his servants and the poor.—Bertrand de Gourdon was then commanded to be brought in. He entered in chains, and stood before the dying monarch. “What had I done to thee,” said the king to him, “to draw this vengeance from thy arm?”—The youth answered intrepidly, “My father, and my two brothers, you slew with your own hand: for me the like fate was intended. Now take what revenge, you will: I shall bear joyfully any torments, if you only die, who have done such mischiefs.”—“I forgive thee my death,” said Richard:—“loose his chains, and put a hundred shillings in his purse.”—But the savage Marchadée did not let him go; and after the king’s death, he flaid him alive, and hanged him.—His last orders were now given. “Take my heart,” said he, “to Rouen; and let my body lie at my father’s feet, in the convent of Fontevraud.” Resigned, and acknowledging his crimes, he expired. It was the fifth of April, the eleventh day after he had received his wound, the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age.

With pleasure I take my leave of this turbulent and warring prince; and I am dispensed from the labour of delineating his character. His contemporaries did it in a single word, when they called him the lion-hearted, *Cœur de Lion*. Had they looked to the tyger, rather than to the lord of the forests, they would have found, indeed, a more apt similitude; but, in a romantic age, just appreciation was not to

His character

“Hoveden. Diceto, Gerv.

BOOK IV.

1199.

be expected. The heart of Richard was throughout savage : it possessed no elements of that noble magnanimity, which has filled the breasts of heroes. His vices, which were numerous, undisguised and prominent, flowed in a ruffled stream from their source ; and if he had the seeds of any virtue, overwhelmed in the current, they never sprang into life. Historians have said, that he was open, frank, generous, sincere, and brave. Considered as habits of the mind, he did not possess those qualities. When they appeared, it was but as momentary effusions, or as casual modes of the ruling passion. In certain descriptions, I am well aware, that I have softened down too much the ~~rude~~ lines, I had before me. I did it not to veil their truth ; but when the eye, for some time, has dwelt on the roughest scenes, the harsh impression wears away, and we begin to be less disturbed, and less disagreeably affected.

The people of his dominions were so dazzled by the splendour of his achievements, which fame, as she conveyed their story from the east, generally loaded with much romantic colouring, that, for the honour, they thought, it reflected on themselves, they could not be too loyal and too subservient to his will. With alacrity they submitted to the heaviest burthens ; and did not seem to feel, they were oppressed, and often insulted. Of the nine years he reigned, he did not pass more than four months in England : yet they were never drawn from their allegiance, though John, the presumptive heir to his crown, was present, and urged them to treason. Nor were his subjects in France less steady. Let this be compared with the events of the preceding reign, marred by internal broils, and incessant defections

defections from a prince, who, weighed against Richard, might be called the father of his people. It was the vain splendour of his name, which endeared him to the nation, and the pity which his captivity had moved. Had he lived, they would have seen another crusade; and would have cheerfully resigned their last shilling, to promote the wild undertakings of their lion-hearted prince. To this he had engaged himself, when he left Palestine; and the disturbances in France had alone diverted his thoughts from the theatre of glory.—One certain document we collect from the history of this reign, which is, that the government of England was most unsettled; and that the forms of a council, or a species of representation, to which Henry seemed often to refer himself, originated from his own politic and prudential views, and not from a supposed order, which legislation had established. As they arose, it was my aim to mark such circumstances, as could help to develope the growing features of our government. The word *parliament* I studiously avoided. It occurs, I think, in one ancient author, who writes on the events of this period; but he lived posterior to the times^a.

It was during the crusades, modern writers have observed, that the custom of using coats of arms was first introduced into Europe. The knights cased up in armour, had no way to make themselves be known and distinguished in battle, but by the devices on their shields; and these were gradually adopted by their posterity and families, who were proud of the pious and military enterprises of their ancestors.—Richard carried *three lions passant* on his shield, and he was the first of our kings who bore them. That

^a Joan. Bromton.

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1199.

That he was a passionate lover of poetry, and himself a poet, is likewise said. I have not seen the sonnets which are ascribed to him ; but their merit, I conceive, must be light. As to the provengal bards or Troubadours themselves, who were the first of the modern Europeans, that distinguished themselves by attempts of that nature, from the silence of our historians in their regard, it may be inferred, that they were held in little estimation. But this is not the place for a discussion, on which, hereafter, possibly, I may enlarge, shall the subject, on reflection, seem deserving of it.

END OF BOOK IV.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E I G N
O F
K I N G J O H N,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

B O O K V.

Accession of John.—Inauspicious opening of his reign.—Innocent III. and the first transactions of his pontificate.—Peace with France.—John marries Isabella of Angouleme.—Cause of Ingeburga, queen of France.—John meets the king of Scotland at Lincoln, and makes a progress through the realm.—The barons shew discontent, and John goes into Poitou.—Duke Arthur taken prisoner, and murdered.—Various reports of the murder, and its consequences.—Innocent espouses the cause of John.—The crusaders erect a new empire at Constantinople.—Normandy and other provinces taken by Philip.—A truce with France.—Stephen Langton appointed to the see of Canterbury.—Controversy between the pontiff and John.—England laid under an interdict.

interdict.—The king's vengeance.—Otho succeeds to the empire.—Conduct of John, and the further designs of Innocent.—Langton, with views against the king, goes to Rome.—Philip, commanded by the pope, prepares to invade England.—Pandulphus, the papal nuncio, lands.—John submits, subjecting himself and kingdom to the pope.—The French king, checked by Pandulphus, enters Flanders.—The exiles return, and Langton administers an oath to the king.—Meeting at St. Albans, and further proceedings of Langton.—He confederates the barons.—A legate arrives, before whom John renews his submission.—Crusade against the Albigenses.

BOOK V.

1199.

Accession of
John.

THE earl of Mortagne was in Normandy, when his brother died. Conscious of his imperfect title to the succession, and that his conduct had not secured the pre-dilection of the people, the loss of a moment, he saw, might exclude him from the throne. In insincere and unavailing lamentations over Richard's grave, he spent no time; but sent Hubert the primate, who was with him, and William Mareschal, into England, there, with Fitzpeter the justiciary, to maintain the tranquillity of the realm, and to awe the barons. Himself hastened to Chinon, where the late king's treasure was, which, with the castle, was delivered to him. But the barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, met, and swore fealty to the duke of Bretagne, alledging, that it was the law of their provinces, that the son of the elder brother should succeed to his inheritance. This elder brother had been Geoffrey, third son of Henry. The cities and castles followed their example, and declared Arthur their lord. He was but in his twelfth year; wherefore Constance, his mother, had recourse to Philip, who with his

his army was again on foot, and committed the youth to his care. He sent him to Paris, and in his name took possession of the provinces.—The earl of Mortagne, with the troops he had with him, furiously entered Maine, razed the walls and houses of its capital, and imprisoned its citizens: but he could make no longer stay. He returned to Rouen; and on the twenty-fifth of April, nineteen days after Richard's death, was girt with the ducal sword of Normandy, by the archbishop, who, at the same time, encircled his brows with a golden coronet. This prelate, it will be recollect'd, had been the favoured minister of the late king, and the earl's most strenuous opponent. The usual oath was then administered—to preserve inviolate the rights of the church, to administer justice, to annul bad laws, and to enact good ones. Thus was Normandy secured^a.

Eleanor, mean while, vigorous still and enterprising, had been in Aquitaine, where her interest was irresistible; when she joined the savage Marchadée with his mercenary bands, and entering Anjou, spread devastation. John was her favourite child; otherwise the little Arthur, it was thought, might have found an advocate in the breast of his grandmother. — In England, the primate and his associates laboured strenuously, and obtained from many nobles and inferior citizens, an oath of allegiance to John, duke of Normandy. But the general aspect was unpromising. The bishops, the earls, the barons, repaired silently to their castles. They were seen with their workmen, examining the walls; while men, arms, and provisions were conveyed into them. The triumvirate met at Northampton, to which

^a Hoveden. Diceto. an. 1199.

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place they summoned those noblemen, whose disaffection they apprehended most. They came : David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to the Scottish king, Richard earl of Clare, Ranulph earl of Chester, father-in-law to duke Arthur, William earl of Tutesbury, Walestan earl of Warwick, and William de Mowbray, with many more earls and barons. No more is recorded of the meeting, than that the ministers solemnly pledged their master's word, would the noblemen bear allegiance to him, that they should enjoy all their rights. *On this condition, they swore to receive John for their sovereign^b.*

What these rights were, is not said ; nor do we discover whence arose the opposition, thus suddenly manifested. From no ideas of a superior claim in Arthur ; or they would not have spoken of *their* rights only. It was dictated, probably, by a personal dislike to the prince, of whose character they had had experience. The intrepid spirit of Richard had long awed their turbulence ; and it was the weakest policy in the triumvirate to court their favour, by so immature a compliance with their wayward demands.

Immediately the duke came to England, on the twenty-fifth of May, and he found the nation assembled to celebrate his coronation. It was performed at Westminster.— “ Hear all ye people,” said the primate, rising from his seat : “ It is well known, that no one can have a right to the crown of this realm, unless, for his extraordinary virtues, he be unanimously elected to it, and then anointed king, as Saul was, himself the son of no king, nor royally descended. Such also was David. And so

“ was

^b Hoveden. Annal. de Margan.

" was it ordained, to the end, that he, whose merit is
 " pre-eminent, be the lord of all the people. If, indeed,
 " of the family of the deceased monarch there be one thus
 " nobly endowed, he should have our preference. This I
 " have said, in favour of the noble earl John, who is pre-
 " sent, brother of our late illustrious king, who left no
 " issue. He possesses prudence, and valour, and eminence
 " of birth. For these qualities, having invoked the holy
 " spirit, we unanimously elect him our king." So saying,
 while the assembly applauded the harangue, he proceeded
 to the ceremony. The usual oaths, to protect the church,
 to abrogate bad laws, and to administer justice, were ten-
 dered; when Hubert said: "I adjure you, in the name
 " of God, and I enjoin you, not to undertake this high
 " office, unless your mind be resolved to execute what
 " your lips have sworn."—"With the assistance of heaven,"
 replied John, "I will be faithful to my oath."—On the
 following day, homage was done to him; when instantly he
 repaired to St. Alban's, there to pray before the martyr's
 shrine: and the awful solemnity ended. — The king was
 thirty two years old.

If this account of John's *election* to the crown of England be true, of which may be entertained some doubt, from the silence of more contemporary historians, I view it as the artful device of the triumvirate, to conciliate to their prince the disaffected minds of the nobility. They would not speak of his hereditary right, lest the claim of Arthur might be rather urged; nor even of the will of the late king, which, at that time, might have been deemed to

^c Mat. Par. an. 1199.

have given a sufficient title. A free and unanimous election would, at once, silence opposition, and be paramount to every pretension. Of precedents they were little solicitous, which, they knew, did not exist: but could they secure the crown, no jealous enquiries would be made, time would strengthen the nomination; and other measures might be adopted. The prince himself, we may presume, was privy to the whole design. Afterwards, when the primate was questioned concerning this extraordinary transaction, he replied, says the same historian, that he foresaw, and had secret intimations which told him, that John would abuse his power, and disturb the realm; and therefore, that his hands might be less free, he had proposed the measure of electing him to the throne^d. A vain subterfuge to palliate a proceeding, which reason did not justify!—As to the right of Arthur, it was not generally admitted, as we may infer from the conduct of England and Normandy, after the three provinces, which adhered to him, had so decidedly announced their own resolution, founded, they said, on ancient usage. Richard, when in Sicily, had declared him his successor; but being returned to his dominions, he took no measures to secure to his nephew the title he had conferred, and dying, he left all to John. Thus, and by the preceding act, clearly signifying, that, in nominating his successor, as he was himself without issue, he had only his own inclinations to consult. Prince Arthur had now displeased him, and John possessed his heart. The authority of a will was great; but, as we have seen, the agents of the duke would not risk it, against the disaffection

^d Mat. Par. ibid.

disaffection of a party, whose enmity they feared. But I must likewise remark, how inconsistent their conduct was; first, by every exertion to influence the nation to receive him as their king, and to swear fealty to him; and when he presented himself before them at Westminster, then solemnly to declare, that he had no right, but what their suffrages should freely confer.

John, however, was in possession of the object of his wishes; nor did he forget his benefactors. On the day of his coronation, he invested Fitzpeter in the earldom of Essex, and Mareschal in that of Pembroke; and the primate he named his chancellor. — But ambassadors arrived from the king of Scotland, William the Lion, no stranger to my reader, requesting the surrender of the provinces of Northumberland and Cumberland, which in the reign of Henry II. had been wrested from the patient hands of Malcolm. They had been held as a fief under England. If the king complied with his wishes, their master, added the ambassadors, would serve him faithfully; if not, he knew how to enforce the justice of his claim. John begged he might see their king; and sending the bishop of Durham, as he hoped, to meet him, he went himself to Nottingham. William refused to move: but he ordered other messengers to repeat his petition to the king, and to say that, if he had not a decisive answer, within forty days, the army he was collecting, should enter the English borders. The young monarch disregarded the bold menace, and commanding William de Stuteville to take charge of the two provinces, he embarked for France^c.

Inauspicious
opening of his
reign.

How

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How portentous is the opening of this reign ! On the continent, the defection of provinces, under a rival prince, and a potent protector :—At home, the lowering disaffection of a headstrong nobility.¹ On the northern frontier, a warlike prince, at the head of a ferocious people :—On the throne, a weak and a capricious king, not respected, not loved, not feared.

Philip, on the death of the English king, released from the truce he had made, had recommenced hostilities : besides, the protection he had given to Arthur, would itself provoke animosity. John returned to Normandy with an army, where many crowded to his standard ; and the earl of Flanders, with the other nobles, who had confederated with his brother, brought in their forces. The king of France consented to a truce of six weeks ; at the expiration of which, on the sixteenth of August, the monarchs met. The behaviour of Philip was high and indignant, irritated that his vassal had not offered him homage for the dutchy of Normandy ; and the demands he made were inadmissible. He demanded the annexation of a wide territory to his own throne, and the surrender to Arthur of all his French possessions, Normandy excepted. No wonder, that they parted enemies.

There was an army in the field, commanded by William des Roches, in the name of Arthur. The fate of this youth has a charm, which commands our interest !^f Philip, in ravaging the country, destroyed a castle, which now belonged to the prince ; at which the general expressed much anger, and either because he suspected the sincerity of that monarch,

¹ See Shakespear's King John.

narch, or it may be feared, from a more unworthy motive, he resolved to withdraw Arthur from his court. He effected it, pretending to the child and his mother, that the king of England would be their ~~fairest~~ friend. But on the very day he saw his uncle, it was whispered to the duke, that a dungeon was prepared for him. True or not, an alarm was taken, and in the silence of the night he was conveyed away, accompanied by Constance, and many others. They retired to Angers.^s—Soon after this event, the pope's legate, who was still in France, again mediated, and procured another truce, which should extend to the feast of St. Hilary.

Innocent III. who, for many years, will occupy the foreground in the transactions of Europe, since the beginning of the last year, had been in the chair of St. Peter, a pope, whose actions will best portray his character, and of whom now I will only say, that he inherited all the spirit, which had once filled the breast of Gregory VII.^h When, on the death of Celestine, chosen for his talents, his learning, and his superior virtues, he was but in his thirty-seventh year, the age, indeed, of vigorous exertion, but what was deemed no recommendation to the sacred office. The empire, at that moment, was without a head; and Innocent seized the occasion to recover to his see privileges and territory, which his immediate predecessors had been unable to retain.—In Rome, the first magistrate was invested by him in the prefecture of the city, (a charge which hitherto the emperor had conferred,) who then did homage to him. He nominated the other officers, and received from the people an oath of allegiance. In the towns of the patrimony of the

holy

Innocent III.
and the first
transactions of
his pontificate

^s Hoveden.

^h Hist. of Abel. p. 23.

holy see, and in the castles of the barons, the same ceremony was performed, and Innocent was acknowledged their sole sovereign. The authority which till now the emperors had claimed, and had often exercised, ceased within the walls of Rome, and in its adjacent territoryⁱ.—The Germans were in possession of the marquisate of Ancona and of the dutchy of Spoleto, with their dependances. Innocent, by menaces and a well-directed policy, expelled the intruders, whom the Italians hated, and reannexed the provinces to his see. He then visited them in person, and every where received the homage of the people.—He confederated with the cities of Tuscany, whom the German tyranny had exhausted, and who now looked eagerly to the freedom, which the states of Lombardy enjoyed. His letter to them opens thus curiously: “ As God, the creator of the universe, placed two great luminaries in the firmament, the greatest to rule over the day, and the less over the night: so, in the firmament of the universal church, he has established two great dignities, the greater to rule over souls, which are days, and the less over bodies, which are nights. These two dignities are the *pontifical*, and the *regal*, powers. But as the moon, which, in all things, is inferior to the sun, draws her light from him; so does the regal power derive the splendor of its dignity from the pontifical source^k. ” On such allegorical jargon rose the theory of papal monarchy!—Innocent, by these active proceedings, gave a lustre to the tiara; and other towns having submitted to his controul, he reviewed the general state of his revenue, committed the administration

to

ⁱ Gesta Innocent n. 3. Murat. an. 1198.^k Bzovius Annal. Eccles.

to able officers, strengthened the barrier and maritime places, attended in person to the decision of causes and the distribution of justice; and thus gaining the affections of the people, he could reward and encourage virtue, and strike a terror to the heart of vice. He was firm, magnanimous, liberal, insinuating¹.

On the death of Henry, the late emperor, his queen Constance took possession of the kingdom of Sicily, her claim to which has been related, and she prevailed on the Sicilians also to crown her son. He was an infant, in his third year, named Frederic after his grandfather; and the time will be, when Europe shall see him the greatest monarch of the age. The kingdom of Naples, it is known, was a fief of the holy see: Constance, therefore, by her ambassadors, humbly entreated the pontiff to grant to herself and son the investiture of its different provinces, on the same terms, as her predecessors had received it. By a formal compact between the kings of Sicily and the Roman see, which three successive popes had entered into or confirmed, the crown enjoyed certain ecclesiastical privileges. It elected bishops, it possessed legatine powers, it heared appeals, and it convoked councils. Innocent saw, with pain, this alienation of privilege from his own court, and he was willing to retrench it. But the circumstance clearly announced to him, that what his predecessors had granted to a temporal prince, did not essentially appertain to the holy see. He informed Constance that, unless she surrendered these rights of her crown, he must refuse the investiture. It was an ungenerous proceeding; and Innocent,

¹ Gesta Inn. ap. Murat.

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the greatest canonist and civilian of the age, could not be ignorant, that a compact of such importance was not to be broken. In vain did the empress strive, by presents, by prayers, by arguments, to prevail on the extortionary priest. She could obtain nothing, only on terms of great rigour, with which she could not refuse compliance. But as the negotiators returned, and with them a legate, to execute the papal mandate, Constance died, and dying named Innocent the guardian to her infant son. There was great policy in the measure: for his claim must be at once suspended; and it did not seem, that a more active or more powerful guardian could be chosen, to protect the tender years of the prince^m.

Germany was a scene of discord.—Before the death of his father, this same infant had been chosen king of the Romans; and his uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, was appointed regent, during the minority. But now appeared the deep intrigue and political views of Innocent. Should this disposition of things prevail, he reasoned, and the crown of Sicily be united, on the same head, to the imperial diadem, and that in the house of Suabia, which had been ever hostile to the power of Rome, an interest must be formed against the latter, too irresistible for any policy. Hitherto, the kingdom of Naples, had, in every emergency, supported the tiara, on which it was dependent, and to which it owed many favours; but more from a well-founded jealousy of the imperial court, which long had seemed to aim at the empire of Italy. Measures then must be taken to obstruct the completion of this alarming event. Frederic,

it

^m Gesta ibid.

it is true, was committed to his charge; and, in honour, he must promote his interest. He would do it, as far as this charge extended, which was to the throne of Sicily only. He had, besides, near to his heart an interest, which was paramount to every other; namely, the interest of the Roman see. To extend this, and to guard it, as far as might be, against every possible diminution, must be the ardent labour of his life.—Thus he reasoned, and formed his plan. A new king of Germany should be chosen, on whom might descend the imperial dignity; and his ward should be satisfied with the crown of Sicily.

But Philip, duke of Suabia, who suspected these designs, and whom ambition urged to the measure, was able to persuade the German states to elect him their king. No one, indeed, could be better qualified; but it was a step, on both sides, ungenerous and faithless. He was uncle to Frederic, and in Germany the guardian of his empire; and they, unanimously, but a year before, had conferred this empire on him. Innocent, with indignation, heared the news; for though it, in part, realised the scheme he had himself projected, Philip was, by no means, the person he would have chosen. He was of the house of Suabia, which Rome and all the Italian states had reason to execrate; and before his brother's death, he had invaded certain districts of the holy see, for which he now lay under a sentence of excommunication. He prevailed, therefore, on the archbishop of Cologne and other nobles, to oppose the election of Philip, and to raise against him a competitor. They assembled, and chose Otho, of the house of Saxony, second son of Henry the Lion, and nephew to the king of England.

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Thus was laid the foundation of an inveterate contest. On the side of Philip was by far the major part of the German states, and in Italy the Ghibelin faction, and the interest of the French court. Otho was supported, in Germany, chiefly by the ecclesiastical princes; by the pontiff and the Guelfs, and by the gold of England, which Richard had largely distributedⁿ. — I have mentioned the Guelfs and Ghibelins, two powerful factions in Italy, the former on the side of liberty, and the latter on that of the imperial power, and which, for many years, will be seen to wave the banner of discord, and to perpetuate the horrors of war.

Thus passed the first years of Innocent, and they have displayed, I trust, his character. We shall see it unfold more and more. He had also an eye to Palestine, for the concerns of Europe could not engross his thoughts; and his agents, in the different kingdoms, were busily employed in forwarding the holy work. In France, his legate had been successful; and what other business here roused his zeal, shall be related.

The kings, as the truce expired, had again held a conference, in which the treaty of marriage with Blanche of Castille had been finally settled, and the preliminaries of a peace proposed. To negotiate with Alphonso, and to conduct the princess into France, no one was judged so proper as the yet active Eleanor. She departed, while winter was most inclement; visited the Spanish court; and before Easter was returned to Bourdeaux with her grand-daughter. But the journey had fatigued her; wherefore, leaving her charge in the hands of the archbishop, she proceeded herself

1200.
Peace with
France.

ⁿ *Gesta ut sup. Chron. Ursperg, &c.*

self to Fontevraud, to which holy repository had lately been consigned, the remains also of her daughter Jane, countess of Toulouse, dowager queen of Sicily. — Peace was now concluded, on the same terms, as that with Richard, some years before, only that a new line of separation was drawn between Normandy and France. The other articles are of little moment.—Then arrived the princefs at her uncle's court, and a more solemn meeting was appointed, soon after midsummer, whereat Philip surrendered to the English monarch the city of Evreux, which he had lately taken, and its earldom, and all the castles, and towns, and territory, which his arms had conquered. John bent his knees, and did homage for them; and instantly, as it had been previously agreed, gave back the whole, as the marriage portion with his niece, adding to it the sum of thirty thousand marks in silver^o.—Seldom had so lavish and improvident a contract been made; for France thus became possessed of many valuable and strong fortresses in the neighbouring provinces; while the lady had herself parents, better able than John, to endow their daughter.

But he was not so generous to his nephew Otho, now contending for the German empire, whom not to aid by men or money he, on this occasion, solemnly promised. Even when he sent to demand the fiefs which Richard had given to him, and the legacy mentioned in his will, the base prince pretended that, by virtue of the oath he had made to Philip, he must refuse to comply.—The cause of Arthur was, at the same time, sacrificed by the French king, intent only on his own aggrandisement. To John returned
the

^o Hoveden. an. 1200. Diceto. Annal. de Margan.

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1200.

the provinces, which had first declared for the duke, while he remained in possession only of Bretagne; for which he did homage to his uncle, as duke of Normandy, who consented that the youth should continue, under the tutelage of Philip^r.

John marries
Isabella of
Angouleme.

John had been, many years, married to Avisa, heiress of the house of Gloucester, and a dispensation from Rome, which was thought necessary, had sanctioned the union. From what motives, is not said, he now found bishops who would dissolve this marriage, on pretence of consanguinity, which the original dispensation had relaxed. Thus free, he dispatched a brilliant embassy into Portugal, to demand the daughter of that crown, of whose accomplishments fame spoke loudly. The embassy departed; and the king, to wear away the dreary interval, at the head of a powerful army, marched through the provinces, into Aquitaine. Every where they received him as their lord. But at Angouleme his heart was taken. The earl of that name had a daughter, Isabella, long affianced to the count of la Marche. This was an obstacle; but John declared his love; the father consented; and Isabella, seduced from the castle of her future husband, who, respecting her tender years, had not married her, was presented with the crown of England. The nuptials were celebrated at Angouleme, the archbishop of Bourdeaux officiating, who had been the principal agent in the divorce^q. How the embassy was managed, we are not told.—Hence the army, with their king, proceeded southward. He received the homage of the earl of Toulouse for the dower, which had been given with his late wife,

Jane

^r Hoveden. Annal. Burton.

^q Hoveden. Diceto. Annal. Burton.

Jane of Sicily, to remain for ever in his family, under the condition of serving the king with five hundred knights, in his wars in Aquitaine. He then turned towards the north, taking hostages from the lately revolted provinces, and arrived at Rouen, in all the splendour of triumph. Nor did he remain here. England should witness his glory and the beauty of his queen. With her, therefore, he sailed, in the month of October; and soon after their landing, they were together crowned at Westminster, by the hands of the primate^r.

France, for many months, had been in a state of perplexity. It will be recollectcd, that Philip, after the death of his first queen, had married Ingeburga, princess of Denmark, with whom he never cohabited, and from whom, prevailing on the bishops of his realm, he had obtained a divorce. She was said to be fourth cousin to the deceased Isabella. The king of Denmark carried his complaints to Rome; and Celestine then pope, roused, with some difficulty, to espouse the cause of the injured princess, finally annulled the sentence of divorce. But Ingeburga, mean while, was confined in a convent, without the limits of France, at a distance from every friend, and unprotected; and Philip had the audacity to take another lady to his arms, Agnes of the house of Morania. At this time, Innocent came to the papal chair. Alive as he was to every impression, he ardently espoused the cause of Ingeburga, and became her champion. But it was not with the usual arms of chivalry that he fought. He admonished the king to remove the adulteress, and to take the queen into favour, having

Cause of Ingeburga, queen of France.

^r Hoveden. Annal. de Margan.

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ing first examined the documents, which were said to establish the consanguinity of the queen. Philip disregarded the paternal admonition; on which the legate was commanded to lay the kingdom of France under an interdict. At once, all religious service ceased; the churches were shut; and the dead lay unburied on the ground. The king remonstrated, appealed, seized the livings of the clergy, and with a high hand, forbade all obedience to the sentence. But neither money, nor menaces, nor promises prevailed: the sentence was obeyed; and Innocent triumphed in his superior power. “Your majesty must submit;” exclaimed the prelates and nobles, whose advice he had asked. He did submit; and the interdict was suspended, at the end of eight months, on condition that the king made satisfaction to the ecclesiastics he had injured; that those who had disobeyed the sentence should present themselves before his holiness; that Agnes be dismissed; that Ingeburga be treated as queen, whose cause should be again examined, by the decision of which he should abide.

A council met at Soissons. On one side was Philip, with the prelates and nobles of the land: on the other, Ingeburga with some bishops, and a retinue of friends, whom her brother had sent from Denmark. The cardinal legate presided. Canonists from both courts were appointed to manage the debate; and a numerous audience stood in silent expectation. Ingeburga was uncommonly beautiful, and the hard treatment, she had experienced, was known. Philip rose. “I demand to be separated from that lady,” said he, “to whom I am related within the prohibited degree.” — The Danish ministers replied, detailing the parti-

particulars of the marriage treaty, and the solemn promises which had been made ; and then shewing, that the allegation of kindred was most unfounded. But they saw in the legate's countenance, a predetermined partiality to the king. " We appeal from that judge," they said, " to the pope." Ingeburga repeated the same words ; and thus the session ended.

Three days after, came another legate, a man of unshaken probity, and who refused the presents which Philip offered. The meeting was resumed : but the Danes, in consequence of their appeal, were gone ; and Ingeburga was without an advocate. The king's council pleaded, and after many words, sitting down, called for a reply. No one rose. The queen's charms could give eloquence to no tongue. An ecclesiastic, at length, whom no one knew, meanly habited, and of an humble aspect, raised his voice in the crowd, and begged permission to be heared. It was granted. With a flow of oratory he spoke ; unfolded the intricacies, in which the question had been involved ; repelled objections ; demonstrated what the law was ; and while admiration had seized the audience, he carried conviction to the breasts of the judges. They retired to prepare the sentence.—It was now signified to the king, that judgment would be pronounced against him. He, therefore, departed in haste, taking Ingeburga with him, and ordering the legates to be told, that he was satisfied, and should acknowledge her for his queen. Nothing more was done. But he confined this queen in the royal castle of Etampes, where she was treated with respect, though secluded, not from his society only, but from all free inter-

course with the world. Innocent often wrote to her, and unceasingly urged the king to be kind to her, and to remember she was queen of France*.

In this same year died Agnes, whom Philip had dismissed, leaving two children, who were afterwards legitimated. What was the real cause of his dislike to Ingeburga is only related on surmise: but the means which were used in her favour, could not possibly give life to any sentiment of affection. The reader may be pleased to hear that, twelve years after, they were reconciled.—I made no remarks on the unchristian practice of punishing kingdoms, in the manner France was, for the transgressions of their princes; nor on the deference shewn to the ecclesiastical sentence; nor on the boundless sway of power, which Innocent possessed, over the greatest princes of the earth.

John meets the king of Scotland at Lincoln, and makes a progress through the realm.

After the ceremony of his coronation, John had sent an embassy into Scotland, hoping that William, whose resentment he feared, might be induced to visit him. It had been expected, he would have invaded the northern provinces; but in a night he spent before the shrine of Saint Margaret, he felt himself admonished not to hazard the expedition; and he had disbanded his army. Pleased with this attention of an embassy, he now complied with John's request, and met him at Lincoln, to which place the king had come to receive his royal guest. A more august assembly had seldom been seen. — There was a popular belief, that great calamities would fall on the king, who should enter the walls of Lincoln. Stephen had despised the superstitious notion, and his reign was miserable: and Henry,

his

* Gest. Innocent. n. 49, &c. ap. Murat. Hoveden.

his successor, more prudent and sagacious, being at Lincoln, was not willing to risk the dangerous trial. But his son, on this occasion, against the advice of many, boldly passed the ominous gate, and offered a golden chalice on the new altar of St. John. — The kings then ascended Bore Hill, which was soon covered by spectators innumerable. They conversed; while the prelates and nobles stood round; and William, kneeling down, pronounced the usual oath of allegiance, whereby he renewed his vassalage, swearing on the cross of Hubert of Canterbury, to bear true fealty to his liege lord, and to maintain the peace of both kingdoms, *saving his own right*. Three archbishops, thirteen bishops, and twenty-nine noblemen of both realms, whose names are recorded, besides many others, and the crowd of spectators, witnessed the extraordinary act. The royal vassal then rising from the ground, petitioned, that the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, be restored to him, as his just inheritance. A debate ensued; but nothing was determined; and the king requested, he might be allowed some months to deliberate. Early, on the following morning, William departed with the same noble escort, which had attended him through England¹. — For what lands he did this homage, unless for his own kingdom of Scotland, cannot be shewn; for he possessed not, at that time, a foot of earth in this country. But why, thus voluntarily, he again subjected himself to a vassalage, from which, by an authentic charter, he had been released by the late king, is not easily understood. It must have been from the hope, that the act of submission would move the king to comply more readily with his request.

¹ Hoveden. Annal. de Margan. Chron. Walt. Heming.

BOOK V.

1201.

The king of Scotland was departed, when messengers arrived, announcing the approach of the citizens of London, with the body of Hugh, bishop of Lincoln. He has been, more than once, mentioned, and due praise has been given to his virtues and to his exemplary conduct. Returning from the Chartreuse of Grenoble^u, whither he had been to visit his brethren, (for he was of the Carthusian order), he fell sick in London, and died. John went to see him in his illness, and he confirmed his will, which was then necessary to give it validity. Hugh had requested to be buried in the new church at Lincoln, which himself had built; and from a respect to his high character, the citizens of London would attend him to his grave. As the procession came near to the city, the king and all his nobles went out to meet it. The bearers halted; when John, assisted by his attendants, took the bier on his shoulders, and bore it forwards. They were relieved by other noblemen, who proceeded to the porch of the great church. Here were the prelates, in their hallowed robes, who received the precious burthen, and conveyed it to the middle of the choir. On the next day the ceremony of interment was performed^v.—The reader will not be surprised to hear, that miracles, round the shrine of the worthy bishop, were said to be performed, as numerous as the credulity of the age was great.

From Guildford, where the monarch spent the Christmas, we now follow him, in a progress through the kingdom; and Isabella was the attendant of his journey. They were again at Lincoln; crossed the Humber into Yorkshire; were

at

Hist. of Abell. p. 105.

v Hoveden. Diceto. Annal. de Margan.

at Beverley, at Scarborough, and proceeding northward, visited the extreme boundaries of the realm. It was in the most inclement months of winter. But not for pleasure, or to shew his fair partner only, did he travel. Oppression marked his steps: expensive entertainments drained the purses of the people; and he everywhere exacted large sums, on pretence of trespasses in his forests. Before this, he had demanded an aid of three shillings, on every hide of land. At York, through which he returned, his brother the son of Rosamond, met him, and a reconciliation took place. The high-minded prelate had not allowed the above aid to be levied within his liberties; he had given many other causes of offence; and as to his general conduct, it had continued to be insolent to his inferiors, hostile to the higher clergy, and indecorous to himself. But it was not, without a heavy amerciament, that he gained his brother's favour.— Easter now approached, when the royal travellers hastened back to the south, and again were crowned at Canterbury. Hubert, as usual, performed the ceremony; and at his own costs entertained munificently the whole court, and the numerous attendants^w.

The cloud, which we saw at a distance, now began to gather more visibly. News had come, that the barons of Poitou were in arms; and on this John commanded, that the earls, and barons, and military tenants of his realm, should be ready with their arms and horses, in whitfun-week, at Portsmouth, to sail to the continent. The late arbitrary, though, perhaps, warrantable, imposition of three shillings, and the more recent oppressions in the north,

The barons flew discon-
tent, and John
goes into
Poitou.

^w Hoveden, an. 1201. Diceto p. ult.

north, joined to the prodigality and ungracious demeanour of their prince, had still more soured the sullen humour, with which, at his accession, the nobles received him. The summons of attending their lord to France was, they knew, no breach of privilege; but it did not please them, and they assembled at Leicester. On this they debated, and came to an unanimous resolution, which they signified to the king: “That they would not fail with him, unless he restored to them their rights.” — What these were, remained still unexplained. But so unsettled was the concert, they had formed, that John could break it by a menace. He ordered these refractory vassals to surrender their castles: to save which they gave their children into his hands, as hostages for their future fidelity; and, on the appointed day, were ready at Portsmouth. From this place, many were permitted to return home, on paying a scutage, the money they would have expended in the service; and the rest embarking with the king and Isabella, sailed to Normandy*.

Near Andeli, the French king received them; and they waited on him at Paris, where every attention was exhibited, Philip relinquishing his own palace for their more commodious accommodation. And here also the articles of the last peace were confirmed anew, under a more solemn guarantee of the barons of both nations.—Berengaria, the young dowager queen, has been long out of sight. Now she came to the king at Chinon, to which place he went on leaving Paris, where the object of her visit, viz. the settlement of her dower, was honourably compleated. It does not appear, that she was ever in England, of which she had been,

* Hoveden. Annal. Burt.

been, some years, queen. Bayeux, with its dependences, and two castles in Anjou, and a thousand marks, to be paid half-yearly, were settled on her^y. BOOK V.
1201.

The disturbances in Poitou and Aquitaine continued; at the head of which was Hugh de la Marche, the baron, from whose arms John had ravished his queen, the beautiful Isabella. To chastise the rebels, the king advanced with his army; but he did not mean to engage in the toil of fighting battles and of storming forts. He had hired, and brought with him from England and other countries, champions, men expert in the use of arms; and as he entered Poitou, he halted, and forming his court, sent challenges to the principal rebels, first charging them with the crime of treason to himself and to the late king. The mode of warring was unprecedented, and in the true spirit of chivalry. But the barons, apprised of the insidious purpose, refused to appear, alledging that they were ready, indeed, to vindicate their honour; but that they should not contend with any but their peers. Thus illuded, the weak prince returned into Normandy, leaving Robert de Turnham behind him, to oppose the malcontents. Their disaffection gained strength and numbers from the insolent measure, and its pusillanimous prosecution^z.

Another legate came into France, deputed from his holiness, to raise further supplies for the holy land. The kings readily promised a fortieth part of their annual revenue; and John ordered his chief justiciary Fitzpeter, now earl of Essex, to levy a similar contingent on his English subjects. It had been done in France. The instructions addressed by the

^y Hoveden. Annal. Buri.

^z Ibid.

1201.

the justiciary to the sheriffs and bailiffs, of the different towns and counties, are conveyed in the most artful terms. He suspected, it is evident, that a precept would not have been complied with. "At the earnest request of a cardinal from the pontiff," he says, "and with the advice of his nobles in France, our king has granted a fortieth part of the value of all his revenues, for the use of the holy land. His subjects there have voluntarily done the same; and at their prayer it is, that he has written to his nobles here; begging and exhorting them, with a pure heart, and from a motive of benevolence, to accomplish the same good work. It is not to be granted, nor is it asked on any pretence of right, or custom, or compulsion, or of any authority whatever from the court of Rome." The mode of levying the subsidy is then distinctly appointed; after which the particular sums were to be registered with the names of the persons, and their respective possessions, rated according to their annual value. They who paid this tax, and consequently every other, were earls, barons, military tenants or knights, and free tenants, otherwise called socmen: such of the clergy also, who possessed layees. The justiciary finally orders, that the names of those shall be registered, and sent up to him, who may refuse to comply with the king's petition^a. — The instrument is curious, and closes the history of the minute and accurate Roger Hoveden. With reluctance I quit his honest page.

1202.

Duke Arthur
is taken prisoner,
and murdered.

The late peace had seemed to promise some years of tranquillity to both countries: but powers so constituted, as those of France and England were, could not possibly be friends.

^a Hoveden p. ult.

friends. Philip was ambitious, and his rival was a weak prince. The latter, besides, had now lost his confederates, particularly the earl of Flanders, who had taken the cross, and was departing, with many others, to Palestine. The barons of Aquitaine were in arms, and they called on their suzerain lord, the French monarch, to aid them against the oppression of their immediate sovereign. And the claims of duke Arthur might, at all times, be made a source of plausible contention. On the mind of a politic prince, against these motives, the obligations of a treaty would weigh as nothing. Philip, resolved not to let pass the favourable occasion, in an interview with the English king, made on him the most exorbitant and unprovoked demands. In a moment, peace was at an end, and the French forces entered Normandy. Castles, as usual, were taken; while John made some resistance; but Gournai, a place of great strength, finally fell. Here the young duke joined his protector, and receiving from him the honour of knighthood, he was girded with the soldier's sword. At the same time, Philip promised him his daughter in marriage, Mary, an infant by Agnes de Meranie; and investing him in the duchy of Bretagne, which he held under his uncle, as also in the earldoms of Poitou and Anjou, the youth did homage for them in the hands of Philip. "Here;" then said the king, "are two hundred knights; march with them, and take possession of the provinces which are your's." It was now the middle of summer.

The military band instantly entered Poitou, where hearing that the castle of Mirabeau was an object deserving of

^b Mat. Par. an. 1202. Guil. Armor. Annal. Waver.

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their first attention, it was resolved to besiege it. Queen Eleanor was there. Fontevraud, with its pious recluses, and the gloomy monuments of her deceased husband and children, had not detained her long. Mirabeau soon surrendered ; but Eleanor had retired, with some chosen soldiers, to a tower which would not be so easily taken. Her unfriendly behaviour to Constance, the mother of Arthur, and the violence with which she had espoused, on a late occasion, her son's succession to the throne, justified this hostile attack. Arthur drew his men round the tower ; and while he prepared to assault it, he was joined by the earl of la Marche, with a powerful reinforcement. Still resistance was made, and Eleanor had the address to dispatch a messenger into Normandy, to inform John of her perilous situation. At the head of an army, he flew to her relief, and was within sight of Mirabeau, before the enemy had been apprised of his march. A battle ensued, fiercely fought on both sides, in which Arthur bravely flesht his maiden sword ; but the fortune of the king prevailed. The duke was captured, and the earl of la Marche, and the English historians say, the whole force of the enemy. They were sent into different prisons, in Normandy and England ; and the castle of Falaise received the expiring hope of Bretagne^c.

The unexpected success filled the English monarch with delight, as it did Philip with confusion. The latter retired to Paris ; and John, after some days, repaired to Falaise. He ordered his nephew to be brought to him. With gentleness he spoke to him, exhorting him to renounce the friendship

^c Mat. Par. Ypodig. Neustr.

friendship of Philip, and to prefer an interest, at once more honourable and more natural: “ For I am your uncle,” continued he, “ and your liege sovereign. Be faithful only “ to me, and I will heap honours on your head.”—The ill advised youth sternly replied : “ Give me back the crown “ of England, and all the lands, which my uncle Richard “ held, on the day he died. They are my just inheritance ; “ and till they be restored, I swear, you shall never long “ live in peace.”—Troubled and provoked by the haughty answer, the king commanded his nephew to be taken to Rouen, and to be more strictly guarded. He was never more heared of^d.

The secrefy which veiled this murderous deed, while it added to its atrocity, gave rise to conjectures and reports, which, as the imagination formed them, were peculiarly affecting and lamentable. Tale grew out of tale, and the more accumulated it was, the more it was credited. The uncle, men said, was the murderer of his nephew. They talked of a dark night; of a boat rowing to the foot of the tower, where Arthur lay; of shrieks heared; and of fishermen, who had found the bloody corpse. A general horror seized the minds of all. But the Bretons were most affected. They had lost their darling prince, whose name, with a superstitious veneration, they had learned to cherish; Constance, his mother, was lately dead; and Eleanor his sister, called the *damsel of Bretagne*, was in the hands of her murderous uncle. The nobles assembled at Vannes, and Guy de Thouars, last husband of the deceased dutchesf, appeared at their head. He held in his arms Alice, a little infant,

1203.
Various re-
ports of the
murder, and
its conse-
quences.

^d Mat. Par. 1203.

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1203.

whom Constance had borne to him. The tale of the late assassination was now told, we may presume, and probably with the following circumstances, which are still related in the country. John, they said, to screen the deed he meditated, taking his nephew from the dungeon in Rouen, proceeded with him towards Cherbourg, viewing the coast, as he passed along. Late, one evening, followed by a few attendants, whom he had commanded not to approach, they came to a high cliff, which overhung the sea. The king looked down the precipice; drew his sword; and riding furiously against the prince, stabbed him. Arthur cried for mercy, and falling to the ground, the murderer dragged him to the brink, and hurled him, yet breathing, into the waves below^c.

The Bretons stood in need of no incentive to their just indignation. They unanimously swore to revenge their prince's death; they chose the infant Alice, for their sovereign; named Guy, her guardian, and the general of their confederacy; and at once resolved to carry their complaints before Philip, their suzerain lord, and to demand justice. He listened to their petition; and summoned John to a trial before his peers, as a vassal of the French crown. The process was in the regular order of feudal justice. But the ill-fated monarch did not appear; on which, with the concurrence of the barons, this sentence was pronounced on him: “ That John, duke of Normandy, unmindful of his oath to Philip his lord, had murdered his elder brother's son, a homager to the crown of France, within the seignory of that realm;

“ whereon

^c Argentré Hist. de Bretag. c. 78. Annal. de Margan.

" whereon he is judged a traitor, and as an enemy to the
 " crown of France, to forfeit all his dominions which he
 " held by homage, and that re-entry be made by force of
 " arms !."

Philip, when the season would permit, entered Normandy; and the Bretons, co-operating with his designs, laid waste the neighbouring country. But no resistance was made: the castles opened their gates, and the towns every where received the victors. John, in the mean while, supinely indolent and immersed in pleasure, was at Caen, not solicitous, by any defence, to remove the charge of murder from his name, nor heeding the progress of the enemy's arms. " Let them proceed," said he listlessly; " in a single day, I will retake all their conquests." The English barons, who were with him, having in vain urged him to action, would no longer witness these dishonourable scenes. They obtained permission, and returned into England. He had now few soldiers left near his person; but he came to Rouen, smiling before the citizens, though every day brought the news of fresh disasters. " The king," the people said, " was infatuated by some spell or witchcraft." Isabella, only, never parted from his side*. Thus passed the summer months.

But John, whom neither honour nor the preservation of his states could animate, had implored, ingloriously, the aid of Rome. Innocent espoused his interest; and by two envoys, whom he deputed to the French court, he commanded Philip to convene an assembly of his vassals, and to cease from hostilities. The duke of Burgundy and other nobles

Innocent
espouses the
cause of John

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1203.

nobles resisted the incongruous mandate, advising Philip not to listen to measures, which came thus recommended, and that they would oppose any violence, which should be offered to the independence of his crown. An answer, therefore, was returned, “that the quarrels of princes regarded not the see of Rome, and that in the concerns of his vassals, the king would attend to no orders from that source.”—The pontiff, in his reply, insists, that it is an essential duty of his office, to interfere in all matters, which may affect the spiritual interest of the faithful, and that such are wars, and hostile invasions; that he assumes no undue rights, nor pretends to infringe the secular jurisdiction: but that he is the arbiter of peace and war. He wrote to the French bishops, enforcing the same maxims: “We pretend not,” says he, “to trouble or to weaken the power of the monarch; nor should he oppose our jurisdiction. We do not call in question the feudal rights, which belong to his crown: but we pronounce on what is *sinful*, the correction of which, over all descriptions of men, appertains to the holy see.” The bishops supported their king, appealed to Rome, and the controversy was suspended^h.—Under this broad pretext of impeding or chastising sin, an ecclesiastical tribunal was erected, which drew to itself the cognizance of almost every process, and absorbed the nearest interests of states.

Philip had projected the attack of Chateau Gaillard, the raising of which by the hand of Richard I mentioned, and now, to convince the pontiff and the nation, that he would not be controuled in his purposes, even when the altercation

^h Rigord. p. 46, 47. Inn. ep. 165, 167.

tion was warmest, he drew together his army and machines of war, and sat down before the proud fortress. Roger de Lacy commanded in it. The historians of the age have detailed the particulars of this memorable siege, which lasted for the long space of seven months. Wonderful exertions were made on both sides; but only one attempt was hazarded by John, to relieve the brave garrison. This failed of success, though conducted by the earl of Pembroke, a man of vigour and great capacity. The king then hastened to the shore, and sailed to England, leaving this bulwark of his Norman territories a prey to the determined efforts of his rival. Nor was it to retrieve his fame, that he appeared amongst his English subjects. He accused the barons of having deserted his person, whereby the enemy had been empowered to invade his dominions with success; and under this plea, he seized the seventh part of all their moveables. To the clergy also he extended the same imposition, though they had given occasion to no such complaint. And the primate, and Essex the justiciary, were the instruments of these extortions^k.

I have said, that another crusade had been formed, under the animating influence of Innocent; and as those engaged in it were principally the French and Flemish noblemen, who had espoused the English interest, the circumstance, whilst it was most unfavourable to John, enabled Philip to pursue his designs more confidently. The place of general rendezvous was Venice, to which, in the year 1202, a great army had resorted. They were commanded by Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, under whom were the earl of Flanders

1204.

The crusader
erect a new
empire at
Constantino-
ple.

ⁱ Guil. Brito, l. 7. Annal. Waver.^k Mat. Pat.

BOOK V.

1224.

ders and many puissant barons. The earl of Flanders was Baldwin, the ninth of the name. But, instead of proceeding to the rescue of Palestine, they joined the Venetians, and sailed to Zara, a town in Dalmatia, which the king of Hungary had lately taken from the republic. The pontiff opposed this expedition, as contrary to the vow of the crusaders, and threatened excommunication. His threats were disregarded, and Zara surrendered. Here the army wintered, and here the generals received a deputation from young Alexius, son to Isaac Angelo, emperor of Constantinople, whom his brother, named also Alexius, had, a few years before, dethroned and imprisoned. Would they restore the emperor to his throne, the prince offered to re-establish, over the eastern church, the jurisdiction of the Roman see, to pay to the crusaders two hundred thousand marks, and to supply their armies with provisions, and moreover to aid them in their conquest of Palestine. The treaty, after some opposition, was accepted. But here again, notwithstanding the first article, Innocent interfered, from an apprehension that, by the power and treachery of the Greeks, the army would be dissipated, and the primary object of their expedition be lost. Still the flattering prospect prevailed, and the allurements of the treaty; and by this time, the prince himself had joined the army. They sailed from Zara, and within two months, on the twenty-third of June, appeared within sight of Constantinople.

Alexius, seeing the armament approach, sent a nobleman to demand, what was the motive of their coming? If they wanted money or provisions, they should have both, provided they quitted his dominions; it would be at the peril

of their lives, if they remained, or attempted any violence. — “ Tell your master,” replied Conon de Bethune, in the name of the army, “ that we are not in his territories ; but “ in those of his nephew, who there sits before you. If “ he is disposed to restore the empire to him, we will “ entreat the prince to pardon the tyrant, and to permit “ him to live in splendour. But come no more here, un-“ less to fulfill this condition.” — Advancing then nearer to the city, they shewed the prince to the people ; but receiving no answer, instantly they landed, attacked the walls, and carried them by storm. Alexius fled : but the Greeks drew their dethroned emperor from prison, and seating him in his palace, announced the event to the victors. They demanded the ratification of the treaty, which had been made with his son ; and this being complied with, the whole army entered Constantinople in triumph, conducting with them the prince who, a few days after, on the first of August, was also crowned emperor, in the church of St. Sophia. — Their next measure was to pacify the pontiff. The chiefs wrote to him, pointing to the hand of providence which had led them, they said, on their journey, the happy consequence of which would be the reunion of the churches. Of this also young Alexius assured his holiness. The answer of Innocent is wary and circumspect, intimating, that he was not to be deceived by professions, and that the event should prove the sincerity of Alexius, and justify the irregular conduct of the crusaders.

The face of things soon changed. Alexius, in possession of the throne, deemed himself secure, and began to treat

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1204.

his protectors with less respect, and to discontinue the contributions of money and provisions. They were not men to be insulted. The Greeks also, whom the conduct of their young emperor, in calling in the Latins, had justly irritated, meditated his downfall. Hostilities opened. Another Alexius was proclaimed emperor by the people, and the reigning prince being seized, was massacred. Isaac did not long survive his son.—The Latin barons then assembled, and the delegates from Rome having pronounced, that it was lawful to wage war against a murderer, they unanimously resolved, for the honour of God and the prosperity of the church, boldly to attempt the conquest of the imperial throne of Byzantium ; and they settled a treaty of partition, should their arms prove successful.

It was the month of March, in this year, when they again besieged the city. The usurper, with a large army, was within the walls ; but he ignominiously retired, and Constantinople, within a few days, surrendered at discretion. Horrible was the scene which ensued ; while the victors, with the sacred cross on their shoulders, committed every excess, which cruelty, avarice, lust could instigate. Even their religious notions gave an ardour to their rapacity. In the churches and monasteries of Constantinople, had been deposited a great collection of relics, drawn from the eastern countries. On these the superstitious Latins seized with avidity, some, indeed, to possess the rich coverings which contained them, and others, from a veneration to the things themselves. And this holy pillage it was, which, at this time, filled the west with an overflow of bodies, arms, heads, and other members, on which a misguided piety

piety could fasten with enthusiasm, not sensible how empty the devotion was, and how spurious, in general, were the objects of their veneration.

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A pause from devastation, at length, ensued; when twelve electors were appointed, who chose Baldwin, earl of Flanders, emperor; and, on the seventeenth of May, he was solemnly crowned. Agreeably to their convention, a division was then made of the territory, and the Venetians, and the marquis of Montferrat, and other chiefs, were invested with great possessions. Thus began the empire of the Latins at Constantinople, which lasted for more than fifty years.—Nor was it any longer difficult to prevail on Innocent, to approve this glorious achievement. The revolution was unexpected, and he resolved to strengthen it by his utmost exertions. From Palestine now, and from every quarter of Europe, crowds hastened to Constantinople, to partake of the spoil, to join the victorious Franks, and to witness the fall of a proud and a perfidious nation¹.

The siege of Chateau Gaillard continued. But Philip, when he heared that the English king had left Normandy, sent to its governors and the barons of the neighbouring provinces, requesting to be received as their sovereign, since their immediate lord had deserted his station; otherwise, they must expect to feel the utmost vengeance of his arm. With great loyalty they rejected the proposal; but, hopeless of present succour, they agreed to offer hostages for a year's truce, after which, should no aid come, they would receive Philip, they promised, for their master, and resign their castles to him.—John was in England, and he had the

Normandy
and other
provinces
taken by
Philip.

¹ Gest. Inn. Villehard. Nicet. &c. ap. Murat. Fleury, &c.

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1204.

audacity, meeting his nobles at Oxford, to demand from them an aid of two marks and a half, on every knight's fee. They granted it. The church also promised their contributions.

But news now came, that the brave de Lacy, defending the last stone of his castle, and in want of bread, had been taken prisoner, and that the fortress was in the hands of Philip. Messengers likewise, soon afterwards, arrived from the barons of Normandy, to implore assistance, as the year advanced, and the French king with a mighty force was prepared to invade their possessions. "They may act as they like best," replied the monarch; "from me no aid will come."—Philip entered Normandy. The castle of Falaise first surrendered, and then the towns of the lower province, while the Bretons co-operated with the arms of France; and, in a few weeks, Rouen also capitulated, and Arques, and Verneuil. By midsummer, the whole province did homage to the French king, two hundred and ninety years, after it had been dismembered from the monarchy. Its fate was now fixed for ever.—In this unexampled tide of victory, Philip did not relax. Maine submitted, and Touraine, and Poitou, and Anjou, a few castles only excepted, and la Rochelle^m.—Immersed in pleasure, and satisfied, says an historian, with the possession of his queen, John remained unmoved. He had collected much treasure, and on this he relied for the recovery of his dominions, whenever it should be his will to distribute it. "By God's feet," said he laughing, "some English sterlings shall soone redress these evils."ⁿ—Queen Eleanor,

who

^m Mat. Par. Guil. Brito. Annal. Waver.ⁿ Mat. West. an. 1204.

who long had witnessed the glory of the English name, and to the exaltation of which she had so largely contributed, now saw its decline, and died in anguish. She was in her eighty-second year.

The lethargy, for a moment, seemed to dissipate. In the spring of this year, John assembled a great army, announcing his intention to land in France; and a fleet attended him at Portsmouth. But the primate and others, from what motives is not said, opposed the design. Probably, they had been bribed by Philip, or acted even under a more base influence. The king therefore himself embarked with a small retinue; but, on the third day, he relanded on the same shore, furious, as it seemed, from reflection, and feigning disappointment. If his vassals, he pretended, could thus desert him, when a cause of such magnitude demanded their service, they should feel, at least, that he was their sovereign: and on this pretence of disobedience to their lord, he exacted a heavy fine, from all orders in the state*. To this measure, it may be presumed, his ministers had advised him. The nation could, as yet, submit. Had he presented himself in force on the Norman coast, a powerful diversion had been made in his favour by Guy de Touars, father to the infant duchess of Bretagne, whom the conquests of Philip justly alarmed. He had sufficiently revenged, he thought, the murder of Arthur; but alone he could not oppose the arms of France. Thus was Philip permitted, in unmolested security, to enjoy the happiest fruits of conquest, in giving stability to his measures, and bending, by gentle impressions, the stubborn minds of his

Norman

* Mat. Par. an. 1205. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

BOOK V.

1206.

A truce with France.

Norman subjects, particularly, to a yoke which, they had long professed to hold in detestation.

But, in the summer of this year, John really led an army to the continent, which he landed at la Rochelle. The barons of Poitou were ready to join him; the country every where submitted; and he advanced against the capital of Anjou. Angers was taken, and in it many prisoners. But when Philip approached, and a battle was expected; to the surprise of all men, John consented to a cessation of hostilities. This was followed by a truce for two years; when the weak and misguided monarch, leaving his enemy in possession of the provinces he deserved to rule, returned, loaded with new infamy, to meet the curses of an insulted nation ^{P.}

1207.

As no opposition had hitherto thwarted his most oppressive schemes, he could proceed, he doubted not, to fresh extortions. At Oxford, where the nobles and prelates were assembled, he demanded the thirteenth part of their chattels. They murmured, says the historian, but dared not refuse; and the tax was levied on laity and clergy. The son of Rosamond only boldly withheld the measure, and secretly retiring from the country, denounced an anathema against the king's officers, who should collect the plunder, as he called it, in the diocese of York, or dare to lay hands on the possessions of the church, in any quarter of the realm ^{q.} He came no more to England.

Stephen Langton appointed to the see of Canterbury.

At this time, there was no primate. — Hubert had died two years before, when some young monks of the convent of Christchurch, secretly elected Reginald, their subprior, and

^r Ibid. an. 1206.

^q Mat. Par. Tho. Stubbs an. 1207. Annal. ut sup.

and placing him on the archiepiscopal throne, in the silence of the night, exacted an oath, that he would reveal to no one what they had done, without their further permission. He swore it, and instantly, with a few companions, set out for Rome, hoping that the pontiff would ratify the choice, which had been made. But the vain man had hardly reached the continent, when he publicly announced his election, and shewed the letters he bore with him to his holiness. He continued his journey.—Informed of the disingenuous conduct, the young monks angrily joined their brethren; and they agreed to petition leave from the king to elect an archbishop. The man of their first choice had violated the compact, by which his promotion held. John granted their request: but privately he signified to the messengers, that the bishop of Norwich would be peculiarly pleasing to him; that he only had been admitted to the secrets of his heart; and that his translation to the see of Canterbury would be advantageous to the kingdom, as to himself. The monks complied; and the bishop being chosen, was solemnly proclaimed primate, in the presence of the king, who, at the same time, invested him with all the possessions and rights of the see¹. — Thus was opened a new source of contention, the progress of which will fill with misery the remaining years of John.

Apprehensive that Reginald, who was gone to Rome, might possibly obtain the good-will of Innocent, the king thought it more expedient, to send thither a deputation of monks, at the head of whom was Elias de Brantfield. Their expences were royally defrayed from the treasury; and the object

¹ Mat. Par. an. 1205. Chron. Walt. Heming.

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object of their mission was, to procure from the pontiff, the confirmation of the choice lately made by themselves and the king. — But the English prelates of the diocese of Canterbury, who had not even been consulted on the occasion, bore the neglect impatiently. If hitherto they had not singly chosen their primate, they had, at least, concurred with the monks, and the privilege, they maintained, was their equal claim. To support this claim, and to complain of the late transaction, the bishops also sent deputies to Rome. To the person of the new primate they had no objection.—Innocent was thus acknowledged supreme arbiter in the contest, and his decision, it seemed, was called for. The parties appeared, in a public consistory, before him; the agents of the bishops, the friends to Reginald, and the deputation of monks, in the interest of John.

The cause of the prelates was first decided. It appeared, from ancient usage and special grants, that the right of election belonged to the monks. The bishops, indeed, only pretended that jointly with them, they had chosen the three last primates. It had been so; but the convent invariably resisted their interference, nor had they been influenced by their votes. The monks assembled in chapter: the bishops often at Westminster, and not on the same day. Innocent therefore, to decide a controversy, which had long been agitated, decreed that the monks, in future, should be the sole electors. The arrangement was indecent, and adverse to the genuine spirit of the ecclesiastical establishment; but a precedent, which centuries had confirmed, merited, perhaps, some attention.

Now pleaded the monks. The few who adhered to Reginald, requested the confirmation of their choice; and the king's deputies presented the bishop of Norwich. Thus the latter reasoned. Reginald, they said, was clandestinely elected in the night, without the usual ceremonies, without the royal assent, and not with the concurrence of the seniors of the convent. "We petition, therefore," they continued, "that John of Norwich be confirmed our prime, whose election was canonically made, and in the presence, and with the consent of our lord the king."—"Your boasted election," replied the solicitor for Reginald, "must be necessarily void: because whatever ours was, irregular even and unjust, it should have been annulled, before you proceeded to a second choice. I petition, that Reginald be our primate." — Much altercation ensued: it did not seem, that the parties could be induced to coalesce in one choice; and Innocent judged that both candidates had been uncanonically elected. He took the advice of his cardinals, and pronounced sentence, whereby both elections were voided, and both candidates forbidden to prosecute any further claim to the see of Canterbury^s. And the bribe which was offered to him, amounting, it was said, to eleven thousand marks, he rejected with indignation^t.—That the pontiff, on this occasion, exceeded the limits of his prerogative, as it was then admitted, and which the parties, by their application, themselves acknowledged, will not be easily shewn.

It was then signified to the deputies, that they were at liberty to elect whom else they pleased, provided he were

^s Mat. Par. an. 1207. Chron. Walt. Heming.^t Gest. Imm. n. 131.

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qualified, and a native of England. The latter condition might surprise, but it was soon unriddled; for the pontiff recommended to their choice Stephen Langton, a member of the sacred college, whose science, he said, and virtues were conspicuous, and whose promotion would be profitable to the king and the English church.—The king, it appears, had promised his deputies, to receive the primate they should elect; but they, at the same time, had sworn to elect no other, than the bishop of Norwich. They replied, therefore, that, without the consent of their master and that of their community, no choice, they should make, would be deemed canonical, or agreeable to the laws and liberties of the king and kingdom. “Your power,” answered Innocent warmly, “is sufficiently ample; and as “to the royal assent, learn, that here it has not been “thought necessary, when elections are made in the presence of the pontiff. I command you, under pain of excommunication, to chuse him for your primate, whom I named to you.”—The monks, intimidated by the menace, reluctantly and with murmurs, assented. Only Elias de Brantfield would not comply; while the others, singing the *Te Deum*, led Stephen to the altar: and on the seventeenth of June, he was consecrated by Innocent himself at Viterbo, where he then resided^u.

Stephen Langton, born in England, had studied at Paris, where his literary acquirements had raised him to offices of high dignity. He was a canon of the cathedral church, and chancellor of the university. There he remained many years. He also possessed a prebend in the church of York.

But

^u Mat. Par. Gest. Inn. Annal. Waver. Chron. Walt. Heming.

But the fame of his learning and many virtues reaching the ears of Innocent, he called him to Rome, employed him in the concerns of the see, and promoted him to the dignity of cardinal priest, under the title of St. Chrysogonus. An ecclesiastic, in the confidence of the ambitious Innocent, and by him forced on the see of Canterbury, would be, it was with reason apprehended, a dangerous agent of his court. We shall see what his conduct was.

But the pontiff, well aware that a prince of John's temper would not be led without difficulty, wrote to him, in terms of much gentleness, extolling the merits of Langton, whose learning, he said, and virtues would be beneficial to him; and exhorting him to receive him kindly as his primate. Previously to this, he had sent him four golden rings, richly set; and to enhance the value of the present, he explained, by various conceits, the mysteries they signified. John was pleased.—Innocent also wrote to the monks of Canterbury, commanding them to receive the archbishop, and to obey him.—The charms of the rings at once vanished, when the second letter came. Furious at the unexpected news, he turned his rage against the monks. They were all traitors, he said: had first chosen Reginald; then, to palliate their crime, had elected the bishop of Norwich; had taken money from his treasury; had gone to Rome to procure the confirmation of this measure; and to complete their infamy, had there chosen Stephen Langton, his declared enemy, and had obtained his consecration. He dispatched two knights, with an armed band, to drive the monks from their convent. They marched to Canterbury, and entering the cloisters drew their swords. “ In the

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between the
Pontiff and
John.

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" king's name," they exclaimed, " we command you, as traitors, to quit the realm; or, in a moment, we will set fire to these walls, and burn you with your convent." The menace sufficed. All the monks, whom sickness did not prevent, departed, and going into Flanders, they were received into the convents there. But their effects were seized and confiscated ; and the lands of the archbishopric and of the monastery lay without culture^v.

He then sent messengers with letters to the pope. They contained, in reproachful and menacing language, that, having injuriously set aside the bishop of Norwich, he had made primate one Stephen Langton, a man utterly unknown to him, and educated in the kingdom of France, amongst his enemies ; and what was still more prejudicial to the liberties of his crown, he had not even asked his consent to the unprecedented measure. It was truly wonderful, he continued, that neither his holiness, nor the court of Rome, should have reflected, how necessary his friendship had till now been to them, and that they drew more wealth from England, than from all other states on this side the Alps. The liberties of his crown, he added, he would defend, if necessary, with his life ; and that no consideration should prevail on him, to relinquish the election of the bishop of Norwich. " If this be refused to me," he concluded, " no further journeys shall be made to Rome, to the serious detriment of my kingdom. And as the prelates, I have near me, are amply stored with science, I will no more beg from strangers either advice or justice^w."

The

^v Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.^w Mat. Par.

The reply of Innocent to the messengers, and by letter to the king, was temperate, firm, and in the genuine spirit of the Roman see. Having noticed the petulance of his language, which he contrails with the moderation of his own address, he proceeds to the objections made against the primate. He was educated in France, he allows, and what then? There he had gained renown and science. But he is a stranger, it is pretended. Yet to this stranger, he says, the king had thrice written, since his promotion to the sacred college, and it had been his wish to have drawn him near to his own person. By the tics of nature and duty he was attached to his king and country. As a man highly qualified to undertake the great charge, the monks had chosen him; and on that election he insists. But the royal consent, it is urged, had not been asked.—Here the pontiff informs us, what the historian had not related, that two monks had been deputed from Rome to the king, to obtain his consent, and to request that, he would send his agents who might witness the transaction. The monks had been detained on the road; but the letters they bore, had been delivered to the king's messengers. The electors also, he says, had by letter implored his assent. “ And “ I,” continues Innocent, “ who possess supreme jurisdiction over the see of Canterbury, and who know that, “ when elections are made at Rome, it was never customary “ to wait for the consent of kings, I implored your royal “ approbation. That I did, and to do more was not my “ duty. I then proceeded, as the holy canons have directed.” He exhorts him to acquiesce in the just measure, and not to involve himself in difficulties, which may prove inextricable;

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inextricable; not to listen to the counsels of false friends. “Resistance to God and the church,” he concludes, “in a cause, for which the glorious martyr, Thomas, lately shed his blood, must bring danger to you; particularly as your predecessors, Henry and your brother, abjured the pernicious practice, in the hands of the apostolic legates. If you submit, it shall be my care, that the rights of your crown be not injured*.”

Thus spoke the imperial Innocent: but neither were his maxims new, nor his conduct unconstitutional. If he was not free to decide on the merits of the election, why were deputies sent to plead before him? In them, by the king himself, was allowed to reside the power of chusing a primate. They chose Stephen Langton. His consecration only was precipitate; before which the royal approbation should have been received, whatever might be the prerogative of the Roman see. That decency demanded.

In co-operation with the pontiff, other means were used to sooth or intimidate the king to submission. Nothing prevailed. The cardinals were, therefore, convened: after which, orders were sent to the bishops of London, of Ely, and of Worcester, to wait on the king, in the name of Innocent. Their further commission was, to exhort him, with a respectful liberty, no longer to oppose, what was called the will of heaven; but to receive Langton, and relieve the church of Canterbury. Should they find him obdurate, then were they commanded to lay England under an interdict, and to menace the king with a heavier rod, if he did not relent.—The same messenger brought

letters

* Mat. Par.

letters to the suffragan bishops, requiring from them obedience to their primate, and strenuous exertions in the cause of their liberties. — He brought also letters to the English barons; wherein they were requested, to use their influence on the monarch's mind, and thus prevent the evils, which his rebellion against the church must draw on the nation.^v — Where was now the spirit of the lowly Jesus, whose vicars or immediate deputies these men, in their proudest domination, still dared to stile themselves?

Early in the spring, the three bishops waited on the king. They declared their commission, and humbly entreated him, to admit the primate, and to recall the exiled monks. His happiness, they said, depended on it, and the welfare of the state; for that the pontiff must be obeyed. — John grew pale with anger, and his lips quivered. — They proceeded to menace the interdict. “No more,” exclaimed the king furiously, and he inveighed against the pope and his cardinals, “By God's teeth, if either you, or any others, dare to interdict my territories, I will send you and all your clergy to Rome, and confiscate your property.” And as to the Romans, he added, who might be found in his dominions, he would put out their eyes, and cut off their noses, and dispatch them to his holiness, that nations might witness their infamy. “You; begone from my sight, if you have any solicitude for your persons.” They trembled, and retired^z.

Some weeks passed, and the sacred mandate urged. It was lent. The bishops, therefore, pronounced the sentence;

^{1208.}
England laid under an interdict.

^v Mat. Par. Inn. ep. 113, 159, 160. Annal. Waver.

^z Mat. Par. an. 1208. Annal. Waver.

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tence; and in a moment, the nation felt all its direful effects. I have said what they were. The public functions of religion ceased, confession only excepted, the sacrament of the dying, and the baptism of infants. Not a bell was heared to toll; not a taper was lighted; not a canticle was sung, through the realm of England. The bodies of the dead lay unburied, or they were covered with unhallowed earth, in the fields or by the way side, without a prayer or the ministry of the priesthood^a.—But the bishops, having done their work, secretly withdrew to the continent, and with them went those of Bath and Hereford. Langton, mean while, had come to Pontigny, where he breathed the air, which Becket had breathed, and where, by contemplation, he might learn to emulate his zeal and his unbending firmness. But heaven had blessed him with a happier prudence.

The king's vengeance.

Naturally impetuous, with no good sense to moderate the propensity, and now goaded by passion, and ill-advised, the king, who should have striven to conciliate the minds of his people, and thereby strengthen a cause, which was, in some points, just, gave way to the extravagance of rage, and multiplied his enemies. As he had threatened, he sent officers to command the other bishops and their dependents, instantly to quit the kingdom, and to seek redress, if they wanted it, at Rome. He seized all the revenues of the church, appointing laymen to their administration: took possession of the abbeys, and turned their wealth into the exchequer. Many ecclesiastics were imprisoned, or otherwise ill-treated; and their concubines, says the historian,

were

^a Mat. Par. an. 1208. Annal. Waver.

were taken from them, and compelled to buy their liberty by heavy fines. But the prelates, directed by a wise policy, refused to leave the kingdom, and the officers had not been empowered to use force. They remained therefore, subsisting on the slender allowance, with which they were supplied^b.

A negotiation, at this time, was opened with Rome, but it ended fruitlessly: and John, fearing that a heavier sentence might follow the interdict, which he valued little, resolved to provide against it. Personal excommunication, he knew, would break asunder every tie, which bound his vassals to the throne. He appointed commissioners, with an armed force, to wait on all the nobles of the realm, and on them principally, whose allegiance he suspected most, requiring hostages from every family, that, in case of need, he might have it in his power to awe their conduct. Many obeyed the mandate, and gave him the desired pledge; their children, or their nearest friends. They came to the castle of William de Braoue, a noble baron, and demanded hostages. "My sons shall not go near him," said Matilda their mother to the officers: "he murdered his own nephew, whom he should have protected."—"Thou hast spoken like a foolish woman," observed the baron chidingly.—Then turning to the officers: "If I have done any thing," said he, "against my sovereign, let a day and place be named; for I am ready, and ever shall be, to make him satisfaction, without hostages, according to the judgment of his court and of my peers." The answer was reported to the king, who tyrannically gave secret orders,

^b Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

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Otho succeeds
to the empire.

for the immediate apprehension of the whole family: but they escaped into Ireland. They afterwards perished miserably^c.—Thus passed the first year.

Whilst England and its king, were thus involved in the consequences of an inglorious controversy, Otho, that king's nephew, had gained an empire. I related the beginning of the noble contest between him and Philip of Suabia, through which the latter was ever successful. The interest of the ecclesiastical princes and the patronage of Rome, which fided with Otho, bent before the superior strength of his rival; and after a battle lost, in 1206, he was compelled to retire within his own territory of Brunswick. Then his friends deserted him; and soon afterwards, even Innocent, whose politics could move with the stream, became less obdurate, and listened to terms of peace. Otho came to England, and received from his uncle five thousand marks, the only aid it was in his power to bestow. And now the final exaltation of Philip seemed secure. He had an army in the field, ready to crush the weak remains of an expiring opposition; and his ambassadors were gone to Rome, to prepare for his brows the imperial diadem; when, in a moment, the brilliant prospect vanished. Otho de Wittelsbach, to whom he had refused his daughter, entered his chamber, and at a single stroke laid him dead at his feet. It was at Bemberg, on the twenty-second of June, in the present year^d.

The noble-minded Otho received the news with horror. But the states assembled, and unanimously elected him king of Germany and the Romans; and to secure, more lastingly, the

^c Mat. Par. Annal. de Margan.^d Chron. Uriperg, &c. ap. Murat.

the return of concord, Beatrix, a minor daughter of his late rival, was affianced to him. To the states he granted their requisition of such ancient rights, as they demanded; and he renounced all claim to the immense territories, of which his father, Henry the Lion, had been despoiled. The next step was, to regain the love of Innocent. This he did; but the promises he made to him, of restoring to the church the lands of the countess Matilda, and other principalities, were highly imprudent, and proved the source of fatal disasters. At the head of a splendid army, Otho then marched into Italy, receiving, as he went, the homage of the people, and at Milan, the regal crown. The pontiff waited at Viterbo. Otho crossed the Appennines, and passing through Tuscany, joined Innocent at Viterbo. The meeting was most gracious; and together they proceeded to Rome, where, after repeating the engagements he had entered into, Otho was crowned by the pontiff. Clouds soon darkened this too resplendent scene^c.

The English monarch persevered in his mad career. He had led an army against Scotland, and compelled its king to purchase peace, and to surrender his two daughters, as hostages for its performance. And now returning, with the vain pomp of a conqueror, he commanded the hedges of his forests to be cut down, and the ditches to be levelled, that the deer and other animals might consume the produce of the fields. Before this, he had issued a proclamation, forbidding any feathered game to be taken. They were the acts of a tyrant: but he still hoped to secure the allegiance of his insulted subjects, by requiring a renewal of their

1199.
Conduct of
John, and the
further de-
signs of Eng-
land.

^c Murat. ut sup.

BOOK V. homage. They renewed their homage; even children twelve years old^f.

But the pontiff, who, from the refractory spirit of the king, saw the little success which would attend the interdict, resolved to inforce his power; and the sacred college advised the measure. He sent orders to the three bishops, whom he had before employed, to excommunicate the king of England, and to publish the sentence in all the churches of the realm. But the bishops were themselves absent, and their brethren, to whom they delegated the high commission, from motives of fear or favour, withheld the fatal censure. The mandate, however, was known; and the news, in whispers, was repeated from door to door. An officer of the exchequer quitted his post, alledging, that he might not serve an excommunicated prince^g.—The reader knows what were the direful effects of excommunication.

Christmas again returned, when the nobles met their king at Windsor; for the sentence still remained unpublished, and they feared, by fresh irritation, to excite his vengeful jealousy. But the Jews were now called on, to replenish his exhausted treasury; and that they might not evade the contribution, they were seized, and imprisoned, and tortured. Thus was a great sum collected; and with this he levied an army, and prepared to sail for Ireland. Not that any circumstances, then peculiarly alarming, demanded his presence; but it seemed his wish, to affect an appearance of occasional vigour, and to dissipate, by military parade, the sullen combinations of his English vassals.—Since the death

of

^f Mat. Par. Annal Waver. Chron. de Mailros.

^g Mat. Par. Mat. Westm. 1219. Annal. Waver.

of Henry, Ireland, a prey to faction and contentious feuds, had exhibited the same scenes of violence, as had long afflicted it. The English settlers, by various fortune, supported their conquests, and sometimes extended them; and sometimes the native princes prevailed. On the sixth of June, the king landed, at the head of a formidable army. No where was resistance made. The refractory barons, who had incurred his indignation, retired from the storm; while the Irish chieftains repaired to his court, consenting to pay tribute, and to make their submissions. It was then wisely ordained, that the English laws and customs should, in future, be followed; and a regular code or charter was established. The arrangement, doubtless, only extended to those, who acknowledged allegiance to the throne of England; but what province could, at that time, claim independent sovereignty? The monarch of the land had submitted. Thus, under the same head and the same system of polity, were both kingdoms united. For the more regular administration of the laws, a division, likewise, of some provinces into counties was made, over which presided sheriffs and other officers. No military exploit marked this auspicious journey, and John returned, after an absence of two months, leaving the bishop of Norwich, his deputy. His first care was, as he had received instructions, to cause money to be coined of the same weight and form, as that of England, for the convenience of traffic, between the two kingdoms, and which, by a royal proclamation, was made current in both^b.

John.

^b Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

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John landed, in triumphant confidence, and summoned all the heads of the religious houses to meet him at London. Money was again wanted. They obeyed the call, men and women; to whom he declared his exigences, and demanded an immediate aid. The fate of the Jews menaced them, and they complied; raising, says the historian, the sum of a hundred thousand pounds. With this he levied another army, and marched into Wales, striking terror to the hearts of its princes, and desolating the country, even to the foot of Snowdon. The princes submitted, and gave him hostages. —But at Northampton, which, on his return, he visited, he met the ministers of an all-puissant monarch, before whom the laurels of his late achievements faded. These were Pandulphus, a subdeacon in the Roman church and the confidential servant of Innocent, and Durandus, a knight of the temple. They were sent by the pontiff, to propose terms of accommodation, between the king and his clergy. In their first requisition, that Langton should be received, and the proscribed monks and bishops be permitted to return, he readily acquiesced. But when they spoke of the restitution of their effects, and a full reparation of the damages they had sustained, John rejected the demand. The conference thus closed, and the nuncios returned into Franceⁱ.

1211.

Before this time, also Otho had been excommunicated. He had violated his promise, made to Innocent; had even invaded the territories of the holy see; and had dared to attack the possessions of young Frederic, king of Sicily, the vassal of Rome and the ward of Innocent. The sentence operated:

ⁱ Mat. Par. Mat. West. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

operated; and we shall see its completion, in the utter downfall of that incautious prince. — Mean while, the refractory behaviour of John had been reported at Rome; and Innocent, whose mind acquired vigour from the swell of obstacles, at once resolved to proceed in the display of the mighty power, which then attached to the tiara. Before it the imperial diadem and the crown of England should bend. He published a bull, which absolved all the vassals of the king from their allegiance, and expressly forbade them, under pain of excommunication, to hold intercourse with their prince, at his table, in the cabinet, or in private conversation. But he still had friends, who did not desert him, and who, perhaps, in an age of darkness, could appreciate this shameless abuse of power. Among these were three bishops, and William earl of Salisbury, and Fitzpeter the justiciary, and twenty-seven barons, whose names are recorded^k.

For the first time, has William, earl of Salisbury, been mentioned. He was the other son of Rosamond, better known, in the annals of chivalry, by the name of Longsword. What had been his education, or the first incidents of his youth, is not, I believe, recorded; but, in the last reign, on the death of William, earl of Salisbury, son to him who was slain by Lusignan, Longsword married Ela, the heiress of the noble house, and with her received the honours and arms of Salisbury. In the troubles of this reign, with a brotherly attachment, he generally sided with the king.

The

^k Mat. Par.

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The Welsh, impatient of their late submission, again broke from their mountains, and laying waste the country, returned laden with spoil. Acts of wanton barbarity had aggravated the insult. John, therefore, with a mighty force prepared to march against them, swearing, he would level their bulwarks, and erase from the earth the name of Welshman. He was at Nottingham; and before he would taste food, he commanded the hostages to be hanged, who had been surrendered to him, the year before. But as he sat at table, some minutes after, indulging himself with his usual intemperance, a messenger entered with letters from the king of Scotland. He was followed by another messenger from Lewellyn, a Welsh prince. He also brought letters. They whispered to him, that the contents were secret and important. After table, he retired; and the letters were read. They spoke of a conspiracy, and warned him to beware. John ridiculed the admonition, and ordered his army to proceed to Chester. But here other messengers came, and their advice still importuned, that, if he pursued his plan of war against Wales, the conspirators, who were the nobles in his army, would avail themselves of the circumstance, and either slay him in the field, or deliver him to the enemy.—Though the minds of many had been long alienated from their prince, it rather seems, that the present was a scheme, devised by the Welsh princes, to avert a blow which, they had reason to apprehend, would fall heavy on their nation. The scheme answered. He read the last advice with horror, and in the consciousness of his own guilt could see, what grounds he had to fear. He reflected also, that he was an excommunicated man, and that his subjects

subjects had been released from their allegiance. He no longer hesitated: the army received orders to disband; and himself repairing to London, dispatched officers to such noblemen, as he most suspected, to require hostages from them. They complied, two only excepted, who immediately withdrew from the kingdom¹.

The fears of the king were somewhat allayed, and his indignation began to subside, when it was reported to him, that a hermit in Yorkshire had publicly predicted, that, before the next Ascension-day, his crown should be taken from him, and be placed on another head. He ordered the hermit to be brought to him. “ Shall I die then, at ‘ that time,’ said John to him, ‘ or in what manner shall ‘ I be deposed?’—‘ Depend on it,’ replied the prophet, ‘ that, on that day, thou shalt not be king. If I be convicted of a lie, punish me.’—The king commanded he should be carefully guarded, till the issue of his prediction might be known. But the multitude, for whose faith no tale is too marvellous, gave full credit to the hermit, and looked eagerly to the completion of his words.—The historian, with some exaggeration perhaps, goes on to describe the inauspicious view of things: noblemen, whose wives and daughters, John had shamelessly insulted; others, whom his exactions had brought to extreme penury; and others, whose relations and nearest friends he had driven from their homes, possessing himself of their wealth and property. In every baron he had an enemy. With exultation they had received the papal mandate, which broke asunder the awful tie of allegiance; and they sent an instrument, signed, it

¹ Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver. Chron. Tho. Wikes.

Langton, with views against the king, goes to Rome.

was reported, with their names, to Philip the French king, inviting him to come to England, where his standard would be joined, and a crown only waited his acceptance. So relates the historian^m.

Stephen Langton, at the same time, and the bishops who were with him, seeing no end to the resistance of their prince, and well-apprised of the state of parties, resolved to co-operate with the malcontents, and aid their wildest wishes. They went to Rome, and presented themselves before the pontiff. To him they detailed the enormous conduct of John, since the interdict had been laid on England; his oppression of the church and its ministers; and his obstinacy, which no measures could soften. "To your holiness," they said supplicating, "we have recourse: hear our prayer; give help to the church of England." Innocent was moved. He assembled a consistory; took their advice; and finally pronounced his decree. It was; "that John be deposed, and another, more worthy of the crown, be elected in his place, whom the pope should nominate."—Agreeably to this resolution, he wrote to the king of France, signifying his desire, that, for the remission of his sins, he would undertake the laborious charge; and when he had dispossessed the tyrant of his throne, he and his descendants should inherit it for ever.—This nomination of Philip, than whom no prince was ever less subservient to the views of Rome, plainly indicates, that the wishes of the disaffected barons were known to Innocent, and which Langton also might have urged. The politic pontiff was aware, that no prince, whom they should disregard,

^m Mat. Par. Mat. West.

disregard, would be admitted to the throne, and that the circumstance might strengthen the refractory John on it.

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He then wrote to the great men, the knights, and warriors of different nations, exhorting them to take the cross, as if against the enemies of their faith, to follow the standard of France, and avenge the church's injuries. Who should give their money, or personally aid the expedition, should enjoy, he promised, the protection of the holy see. Pandulphus, the agent, whom we have already seen, received orders to return to France, and with him Stephen Langton and the bishops. "But should it happen," enquired the envoy in a private interview, "that I find in the English "king symptoms of repentance, and a will to satisfy our "church, and those he has injured, how must I proceed?" Innocent put into his hand a written form of ~~peace~~ or submission: "To which," said he, "if he will subscribe, he "shall recover our favour." They departedⁿ.

The archbishop, with his associates, having reached France, convoked a solemn meeting, wherein they announced to the French king, to his prelates, and to the whole nation, the sentence of deposition they had procured against their sovereign. In the pope's name, and for the remission of their sins, they enjoined them, to invade the realm of England, and to throw the tyrant and the church's enemy from his throne. Pandulphus, it seems, was not present on the occasion.—Thus called on, Philip could not refuse a commission, which, to a prince less ambitious, must have held out allurements irresistible. To Normandy, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, which were now his, he might add

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Philip, commanded by the pope, prepares to invade England.

ⁿ Mat. Par. Mat. West.

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Aquitaine, and with it the imperial crown of England. He summoned all his vassals to meet him at Rouen, in the easter-holidays, with their arms and horses, under pain of felony. His navy also, and what other ships he could collect, were ordered to rendezvous in the mouth of the Seine, and to take on board provisions, and what else the momentous expedition might demand.

The news of these preparations roused the English monarch; and he prepared to resist. It was the month of March. He issued writs to the bailiffs of the seaports, commanding them to register all ships, and to take care, they were equipped, and anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, by the middle of lent. The sheriffs of the counties received other writs, directing them to summon all the tenants of the crown with their retainers, and every man capable of bearing arms, whatever his condition might be, to meet him, near Dover, in the easter-week, under the severest penalties. So general a call on the services of the subject, had not been witnessed, since the conquest; but, in cases of invasion, the feudal law had ordained the generous provision. Awed by the sudden summons, the nation, in a moment, was in arms; and they marched, from all quarters, to the place of rendezvous; while the channel swelled with the spreading armament. In a short time, Kent had not provisions for the multitude; when it was settled to dismiss those, who came without arms, and to retain only such, who were equipped for immediate service. Now landed from Ireland the bishop of Norwich, with five hundred knights, and other soldiers. The army encamped

encamped on Barham-down, sixty-thousand fighting men, whose breasts, says the historian, had loyalty animated, no prince in christendom had matched their prowess. The fleet of England, also, outnumbered that of the enemy ; and John had resolved, that the ocean should first witness the superiority of his arms^P.

Thus the solemn crisis seemed to approach.—The monarchs, in anxious ardour, weighed the great event :—The troops, on the opposite shores, with minds variously agitated, indulged their expectations :—And the ships were preparing to unfurl their canvas to the winds ;—when lo ! —two knights of the temple landed at Dover, and proceeding to the English camp, were admitted to the king. “ We “ come,” said they, in a tone of much respect, “ from “ Pandulphus the subdeacon, and the servant of our lord “ the pope. For your advantage, and for that of the realm “ of England, he petitions to see your majesty.”—John heared their address, and assented.. “ Let him immediately “ come to me;” he replied, and dismissed the messengers.—In a few days, Pandulphus arrived, and being introduced to the king, he spoke: “ At this moment, Philip, the French “ monarch, escorted by ships innumerable, and at the “ head of his army, only delays his departure from the “ Seine, that, with greater multitudes, which still crowd to “ his standard, he may invade your realm ; eject you from “ it, as a rebel to the Lord and to the Roman pontiff ; and “ by his grant, take possession of your throne. The exiled “ bishops come with him, and the clergy and laity, whom “ you proscribed ; under his auspices, to re-occupy their “ fees

Pandulphus,
the papal
nuncio, lands.

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" fees and possessions, and to transfer to him their fealty.
 " which once was due to you. He declares, besides, that
 " he has the names of the nobles of your land, pledged to
 " him for their liege submission. He doubts not, there-
 " fore, of success. Now look to your own good: re-
 " pent, and avert the wrath of heaven. As yet you may
 " regain the throne, from which you have been cast down,
 " for contumacy, by our lord the pope. Promise to stand
 " to the award of the church, and you shall experience the
 " clemency of the holy see. But for the fulfilling of this
 " promise, sureties must be given."¹

The weak prince, as the nuncio spoke, grew pale, and trembled; and the confidence which, a few days before, the presence of his army had inspired, at once gave place to a general distrust. The sixty thousand men, he thought, were leagued, in secret treason, against him; and the former notices, he had received of designs against his life or liberty, fell, with heavier recollection, on his mind. The fatal day also approached, which the hermit had predicted. Thus abashed, he saw little room for hesitation, and consented to the measures of Pandulphus, however generally they had been proposed. In the presence of sixteen earls and barons, the chief men of his kingdom, and with his hand on the gospels, he then swore to obey the sentence of the church; and on the life of the king the sixteen nobles swore, should he recede from his oath, that, to their utmost, they would compel him to fulfil it.—From this circumstance, which we shall see confirmed, it appears most evident, that even the ministers of the crown approved

¹ Mat. Par. an. 1213.

Mat. Par. Mat. West. ib.

approved the measures of the nuncio, and acted in concert with him. From any controul of the papal power, in whatever form they should now admit it, it would be much easier, they might plausibly reason, afterwards to relieve the nation, than from the strong arm of Philip, should he land with his mighty army. Land he would, if no secret stratagem impeded it; and in the discontented state of things, the event of another conquest threatened.

On the thirteenth day of May, the Monday preceding the feast of the Ascension, the king and Pandulphus, the earls and barons of his court, and a vast concourse of people, assembled at Dover; and before them John solemnly swore to the following articles: — To obey the pope in all things, for which he had been excommunicated; to receive into favour the proscribed bishops, and others, particularly cardinal Langton, and the prior and monks of Canterbury; to make full satisfaction to the clergy and laity, for the damages they had suffered, on account of their compliance with the interdict; to pay down, in part of restitution, the sum of eight thousand pounds sterlⁱng; to give letters of safe-conduct to the primate, and the other exiled prelates, that they may return to their churches; not to prosecute any person, layman or ecclesiastic, for any matter relating to the late disagreement; to confirm these things by letters patent, in the manner the injured parties shall require, with which should he not comply, they shall be empowered to adhere to the pope, and himself shall lose all the right of patronage, he now holds in the English church. When these conditions shall be executed, the king to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and the interdict

John submits,
subjecting
himself and
kingdom to
the pope.

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to be taken from the realm. — Such were the leading articles, drawn up in the form of a charter, to which John set his seal; when four great barons, William earl of Salisbury, Reginald earl of Boulogne, William earl of Warren, and William earl of Ferrars, swore, as their peers had before done, on the soul of the king, that he would inviolably adhere the to compact^s.

But as yet enough had not been done to satisfy the insulted honour of the pontiff; to secure the nation, under his patronage, from the danger of an invasion; or to answer the views of the disaffected nobles, who saw, with pleasure, the tyrant thus brought low. Tuesday passed, and we may presume, that it was a day of anxious deliberation; for, on the morrow, the same great council, with the king and Pandulphus, again met near Dover. — Had any part of the projected measures been adverse to the wishes of the proud peers of England, can we persuade ourselves, they would have tamely witnessed their completion, or have followed the heels of a Roman nuncio, from their camp to Dover, co-operating with his schemes, as they are called, and giving a legal sanction to them? — Now did John resign his crown, with the kingdoms of England and Ireland, into the hands of the pontiff, whom Pandulphus represented. The instrument of conveyance specifies; That having offended God and the holy church, no means of just satisfaction remained to the king, but to humble himself and his dominions: “ Wherefore,” it goes on, “ willing to do it, “ under the influence of the holy spirit, not compelled by “ the interdict or by any fear, but of my own free will,

“ and

^s Mat. Par. ib.

“ and *with the general advice of my barons*, I concede to God,
 “ and to the apostles, Peter and Paul, and to the Roman
 “ church, and to our lord Innocent, the pope, and to his
 “ lawful successors, the kingdom of England and the king-
 “ dom of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances,
 “ for the remission of my sins and those of my family, in
 “ future to receive them from, and to hold them under
 “ him and the Roman see. And to this submission of fealty
 “ and homage, I hereby bind my heirs and successors; in
 “ sign of which, it is my will, and I decree that, from the
 “ revenues of the said kingdoms, the sum of a thousand
 “ marks be annually paid to Rome, seventy for England,
 “ and thirty for Ireland, in lieu of every other service and
 “ obligation, and with the reserve, to myself and heirs, of
 “ the administration of justice, of the liberties of the realm,
 “ and of the peculiar rights of the crown. And should I,
 “ or any of my successors, presume to infringe this charter,
 “ they shall forfeit, unless on admonition they repent, all
 “ right to the throne. May this concession and duty re-
 “ main firm for ever.—Witness my own hand, in the pre-
 “ sence of Henry archbishop of Dublin, John bishop of
 “ Norwich, Geoffry Fitzpeter, William earl of Salisbury,
 “ and nine other barons.” Their names are recorded¹.

The charter, as it is termed, being duly framed, John presented it to the nuncio, to be delivered to the pontiff. Then, before the whole assembly, but not, it seems, with the usual rites of vassalage, or in the hands of Pandulphus, he pronounced the following form of homage:—“ I John,
 “ by the grace of God, king of England, and lord of Ire-

¹ Mat. Par.

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" land, henceforth will be faithful to God, and the
 " blessed Peter, and the Roman church, and to my lord
 " the pope lord Innocent, and to his lawful successors. I
 " will not devise by deed, word, or counsel, that they be
 " injured in life or member, or be circumvented by snares.
 " I will impede their harm, and avert it, as far as I may be
 " able. The advice, they shall intrust to me by themselves,
 " their nuncios, or their briefs, I will hold secret, nor
 " ever reveal it to their injury. The patrimony of St.
 " Peter, and especially the realm of England, and that of
 " Ireland, I will assist to hold and maintain against all men.
 " Thus may God aid me, and these his holy gospels;
 " Amen."—In speaking he had held his hands, we may
 presume, on the sacred volumes. The prelates before
 mentioned, and the barons, were witnesses, also, to this
 extraordinary deed. But Pandulphus, a man of singular
 moderation, and who, in a transaction of peculiar delicacy,
 had conducted himself with a temper, equally pleasing to all
 parties, and seldom before seen in a Roman envoy, is, on
 the occasion, charged with an act of intemperate exultation.
 Some money, which the king had offered, says the historian,
 as an earnest of his subjection, he trampled under his feet;
 at which the archbishop of Dublin expressed his displeasure,
 and remonstrated*. The act, doubtless, was meant to signi-
 fy, that the spiritual controul of his master looked down
 on kingdoms and spurned their riches.

So ended this memorable day, the fifteenth of the month
 of May. — With regard to the transaction itself, which
 modern

* Mat. Par.

▼ Mat. Par. Chron. Tho. Wikes. et Walt. Heming. et
Mailros. Annal. Waver. et Burt.

modern writers know not how to view with decent composure, I will observe, that, had themselves been eye-witnesses to it, their indignation had been less violent. With difficulty, some minds divest themselves of their common habits of thought, and go back, in imagination, to ages which have passed away. An extraordinary power, which I have sedulously traced, was then ascribed to the Roman bishop, and of more kingdoms, than of Sicily, he was acknowledged to be the suzerain lord. Acts of feudal homage were common, and were not attended with disgrace. We saw the king of Scotland voluntarily surrender the independence of his crown; and princes and the great barons daily transferred their fealty, on the slightest provocation; and the English monarchs were in the constant habits, of performing the humiliating ceremony, as to us it appears, in the hands of the kings of France. But however this may be, the surrender, which John made of his crown, was the authentic act of the nation, expressed in as full a manner, as the most solemn deeds then were. The primate was not present, for an obvious reason, nor the archbishop of York, the son of Rosamond, who was then dead: but the archbishop of Dublin witnessed the charter, and the bishop of Norwich, deputy of Ireland, and Fitz-peter, the justiciary of the realm of England, with other barons. The great council of the nation, as it is called, seems to have been assembled in its wonted solemnity. Such meetings, by some writers, on less important occasions, have been dignified with the appellation of *parliament*. What probably were the motives which induced the justiciary, a man of great experience, as he is represented, and of con-

summate wisdom, to forward the extraordinary measure, I have said. Others might be variously influenced. The bishop of Norwich, in particular, was an enemy to Innocent, whose promotion to the see of Canterbury he had impeded. This only may be affirmed with confidence, that they preferred the measure, on the best view of things, as most tending to the good of the nation ; and that to their eyes it carried little of the ignominy, which we have affixed to it. Pandulphus seems to have co-operated with the wishes of the prelates and barons at home, as he had with those of the exiled party ; and what is remarkable, the historian, who can often be severe when Rome is concerned, neither reflects on the nuncio, or his proceedings ; nor does he intimate, that any part of the transaction raised the smallest opposition, or gave offence, excepting in the single instance which I mentioned.

The French king checked by Pandulphus, enters Flanders.

Having executed his commission, Pandulphus, taking with him the charters and the eight thousand pounds, which had been paid for the immediate relief of the exiles, failed to France. He waited on them, and shewing them the terms of pacification, which pleased them well, exhorted them to return to England, with the dispositions of cordial amity, where they would receive an ample reparation of all their wrongs. Thence he repaired to Philip, who was on his march towards Boulogne, and recounting the success of his negotiation in England, he addressed the astonished monarch, exhorting him to desist from his enterprise, and to return home. “ Without offence to the Roman bishop,” he continued, “ you cannot pursue your designs on England and its king. He is ready to make satisfaction to

“ God,

" God, to the holy church, and to her ministers; and to obey the commands of our lord the pope." — Philip did not restrain his anger. " Already," said he, " I have expended more than sixty thousand pounds on this expedition. I undertook it by the pontiff's command, and for the remission of my sins." — Pandulphus withdrew, reiterating the inhibition, in his master's name. But the army continued their march; and Philip dispatched orders to his fleet, instantly to leave the Seine, and join him in the port of Boulogne^w.

In the French army, which all the great vassals of the crown followed, was Ferdinand, recently advanced to the earldom of Flanders. He had refused, indeed, to join the enterprise, unless certain towns, which had lately been annexed to the French crown, were restored to him. The truth was, that he was actually confederated with John, through the insinuating persuasion of Reginald earl of Boulogne, his relation, who, not long before, in disgust, had relinquished the interest of France. At this crisis, therefore, he signified to Philip, that he should favour no longer the unjust attempt on England; and fullenly retired. The monarch, with the advice of his generals, at once resolved to enter Flanders, and to put it out of the earl's power, to obstruct the immediate prosecution of his design. But already Ferdinand had apprised the English council of the danger, which he apprehended; and a powerful army, commanded by the earl of Salisbury, with many ships, had been ordered to sail to his assistance. The French fleet had arrived on the coast; when Philip marched into Flanders.

The

^w Mat. Far.

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The impetuous incursion was irresistible, and many towns fell. In the mean while, the English fleet anchored, and finding that of the enemy almost deserted by the troops, who were pillaging the country, they attacked them, captured three hundred, and sank and burnt a hundred more. Philip, engaged in the siege of Ghent, flew to the rescue of his fleet. It was too late. Some advantage, indeed, he obtained over the enemy, who had landed; but seeing it impracticable to save the remaining ships, he ordered them to be fired, and withdrew with his army. So vanished the prospect he had indulged, of adding a second crown to his empire. But the English generals joined the earl of Flanders, with whom, it seems, a plan was in agitation, for the recovery of the lost provinces in France, and to break down the power of Philip^x.

The exiles return, and Langton administers an oath to the king.

John heared the news of this success with rapture, and understanding that all danger of an immediate invasion was at an end, he disbanded his forces. He likewise sent money to his troops in Flanders, promising that, with the spring, a powerful ally would join their arms; and in the mean while, he urged them to infest and pillage the territory of his enemy. Another army he then ordered to attend him at Portsmouth, where it was his intention, he said, to embark, and from the ports of France, to carry devastation to its centre. The vassals assembled, as the summons directed; but their chiefs refused to proceed, unless the sentence of excommunication were first taken from the king. With reluctance, the disconcerted monarch listened to the stubborn resolution, which discontent had dictated; and in compliance

^x Mat. Par. Daniel p. 553.

compliance with it, sent messengers to the exiles, bearing with them letters from twenty-four barons, as a pledge of the security, in which they might return, agreeably to the settled form of pacification, and be indemnified for the injuries they had sustained.

The exiles received the joyful tidings, and came to England with speed; Stephen Langton, the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, and a croud of inferior clergy, monks, and laity. The king, who was at Winchester, went out to meet them. He fell at the feet of the prelates, and imploring their forgiveness, was re-conducted by them to the door of the principal church, where the multitude waited. The primate here pronounced his absolution, and immediately entering the church, presented to him a book of the gospels, and with it the heads of an oath, he had prepared. Without hesitation the king took it. "I swear," he said, "to love the church and her ministers, and to defend and maintain them, against their enemies, to the utmost of my power. The good laws of my predecessors, and especially those of king Edward, I will renew. Bad laws I will annul. I will administer justice to all my vassals, according to the just judgments of my court, and give to every man his rights. Before easter next, I will make full satisfaction for all the damages I have caused, on account of the interdict, or again fall under the sentence from which I am now released." He then renewed his oath of fealty and obedience to the pope and his successors, in the words of the late charter given to Pandulphus. Thus closed the ceremony, and the king, with the cardinal, the prelates, and the nobles, dined at the same table

BOOK V. table in great festivity. This was on the sixteenth of July.^y

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The oath which the cardinal primate, with an assurance, that courtly politicians might condemn, thus dictated to his prince, seems to have originated in a scheme, boldly projected and maturely weighed. It differed, indeed, little from the coronation-oath, which he and his immediate predecessors had taken; but the present occasion of its renewal was singular, and it brought it, with no common impression, to the recollection of the public. We shall soon see the important purpose, which it was meant to serve. Why Langton, at the same time, caused the oath of fealty to the pontiff to be repeated, is not so evident. But the circumstance proves, that, as he originally moved his holiness to adopt the extravagant measure, from motives which we do not sufficiently penetrate, so he would shew that he still approved the same, and would call on the nobles of the land, a second time, in their collected capacity, to give it the sanction of their presence. That the reconciliation, between this politic churchman and the king, was sincere, we may not suppose. John viewed him as an intruder into the see of Canterbury, whose entrance he could no longer impede, and as the principal author, doubtless, of the late attack on the independence of his crown. If Langton despised the unsteady and inglorious prince, it was but natural. He forgave, perhaps, the opposition, he had experienced from him, which his good sense would be ready to justify; but he had taken his resolution, we know, to avail himself of the general discontent and the weakness of the monarch, thereby

^y Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

thereby to rescue his country from oppression, and to give it the benefit of better laws.

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Meeting at St. Alban's, and further proceedings of Langton.

John now presumed, that he could call on his vassals to follow his standard, and be no longer waywardly opposed. But his first step was, to command the sheriffs of counties to chuse four commissioners, with an officer in each district, whose business it should be, to enquire into the losses the exiles had sustained, and to report the same before a council, appointed to meet at St. Alban's, on the fourth of August. This, he hoped, would be received as an earnest of his sincere design of fulfilling every part of his engagement. He then committed the care of the realm to the justiciary Fitzpeter, and to the bishop of Winchester, commanding them to do nothing, without the advice of the cardinal; and again hastened to Portsmouth. Here his army had remained; but they now informed him that, in waiting his return, their money was spent, and that they could not proceed, unless they were supplied from his treasury. John rejected their demand, and angrily sailed with his family, trusting he should not be deserted by men, on whose allegiance, he vainly fancied, he might rely. But the nobles, with indifference, saw him embark, and themselves returned home. He landed on Jersey, and waited; but as no one came, again, in indignation, he ordered his vessel to depart, and regain the English port².

The fourth of August, mean while, had passed, when the great council assembled at St. Alban's. Fitzpeter and his colleague announced to them the terms of pacification, which had been settled with the king, and then, in his name,

² Mat. Par.

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ordained; “that the laws of the first Henry be every where observed, and all unjust laws be utterly abolished.” They commanded the sheriffs, the rangers of the forests, and all other the king’s officers, as they valued their lives and members, to be guilty of no extortion, to offer no injury, and to cease from such oppressions, as hitherto they had practised with impunity*.

Such were the wise ordinances of St. Alban’s, made in the absence of the prince, and under a commission, we may presume, with which he had invested his ministers. We now see the tendency of the oath, which Langton had extorted from him; and his deep-laid plan begins to open. But here the laws of Henry are only mentioned; and in the oath, a more general expression was used, with a particular reference to the laws of St. Edward. The reason of this will soon appear. I wish also to notice the good understanding that subsisted between the primate and the ministers of the crown, of which an undeniable instance here occurs, which shews, that they proceeded in concord to the accomplishment of one design.

The irritated monarch; who wanted capacity to fathom the views of the cardinal and his associates, only meditated vengeance. He collected another army, resolving to chastise the refractory nobles, by whom he was lately deserted; and he advanced to Northampton. Hither came the primate: “This proceeding, Sir,” said he, “tends to the violation of the oath, you took before me. Your vassals must stand to the judgment of your court, and not be thus wantonly harassed by arms. It was that you swore ‘to.”

* Idem.

" to."—" The concerns of my realm," vociferated John,
 " shall not be impeded by you, my lord ; nor do they ap-
 " pertain to you ;" and the next morning, early, he march-
 ed towards Nottingham. But Langton, unintimidated,
 followed him : " Either desist," he proceeded, " from this
 " attempt, or I will excommunicate all those, your ma-
 " jesty only excepted, who shall presume to bear arms, till
 " the interdict, which still holds, shall be withdrawn." The
 menace succeeded : but the cardinal did not quit the king,
 till he had prevailed on him to name a day, on which the
 barons, who had offended him, should appear in his court,
 and answer to his charges ^b.

Modern men can applaud this behaviour of Langton, insolent as it was, because, they say, it was the cause of civil liberty which he patronised ; and in that cause, the common rules of decency bind, it seems, no longer. On Becket they can be severe and unrelenting ; though to his prince he never uttered language so unseemly, and the cause he maintained was to him and to thousands, equally momentous, and far more sacred. But the policy of the cardinal was here transcendent. From his sovereign he drew an oath, to the observance of which, by a bold importunity, he compels him to adhere, while the clause, which he principally urges, embraces that privilege, which the nobles, he knew, held most dear. Thus did he make their cause his own, attaching them to himself by such a tie of interest, as, on a future day, he could not doubt, would give confidence, and rouse the most timid to a manly co-operation with his best designs.

^b Mat. Par.

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The primate
confederates
the barons.

Within three weeks, from the last great meeting, again assembled the prelates, abbots, priors, deans, and barons of the realm, at London, in the church of St. Paul. Nor was the king here present. What was the ostensible motive of the convention, is not related; but, probably, it regarded the cause of the exiles. In it the primate relaxed some part of the interdict, which was to continue, we know, till the whole treaty should be fulfilled. But so fortunate an occasion was not thus lightly to pass away. In the unsuspecting hour of general debate, Langton called aside, as it was reported, certain barons, whom, with an air of solemn secrecy, he thus addressed: “ You heared that I absolved “ our king at Winchester, where I forced him to swear, “ that he would abolish unjust laws, and re-establish good “ ones, namely, those of king Edward, and that these “ should be observed by all his subjects. I have lately found “ a charter of Henry I. by which, if you be so disposed, the “ liberties we have long lost may be restored to our country.” So saying, he produced the charter, and caused it to be read to them^c.

It was that which Henry I. had granted, in the first year of his reign; which Stephen had renewed; and which Henry II. had confirmed. It contained some laws of the Confessor, with such amendments as the conqueror, with the consent of the barons, had introduced: and, as many transcripts of it having been taken, as there were counties, they had been deposited as records, in the abbeys of each county.^d But little attention was paid to this important instrument. The government of the kings continued irregular, if not unlimited;

c Mat. Par.

d Mat. Par. an. 1100.

limited ; and in an age, when few could read, when arms engaged their thoughts, and not the discussion of laws and polity, the charter was neglected ; and gradually its memory sank. The number of copies secured it, indeed, from destruction, but not from oblivion. Yet, at all times, a traditional recollection, indistinct in many, of days long passed, when, under another race of kings, their ancestors were reputed more free and happy, attached itself to the mind ; and the name of Edward and his laws was repeated with a warmth, approaching to enthusiasm. This, in the Saxon families, was most natural ; but the Normans also imbibed the impression, and as the conduct of their kings aggrieved them, their partial fondness ceased, and they looked anxiously to the restoration of the rights of Englishmen, and the re-establishment of better laws.

The barons listened, while the charter was interpreted, and their looks and gestures expressed the warmest joy. " For those rights," they exclaimed, " when the proper season shall come, if necessary, we will die." —Swear it," said the primate. They swore. Himself then promised them his utmost assistance. Thus was the confederacy formed, and the assembly separated. —We may now understand that, by the laws of the Confessor and the charter of Henry, was meant, in a vague acceptation, the same code of rights and liberties.

Fitzpeter earl of Essex, the justiciary, seems not to have been present on this memorable occasion. It was sickness, probably, which confined him at home ; for early in the next month he died. His loss, says the historian, was to England

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England irreparable. He was the pillar of the state, versed in its laws, generous in his dispositions, affluent in the gifts of fortune, and allied in blood or friendship to all the noble families of the realm. His sovereign feared him; but he permitted him still to hold the reins of government. When the news came of his death; "It is well," said John, laughing violently; "in hell he may again shake hands with¹ Hubert, our late primate, whom he will surely find there." Then turning to those who were with him, he subjoined: "By God's feet, now, for the first time, I am king and lord of England." And, in truth, released from a minister, who could controul his wayward character, he regarded less the engagements he had been induced to make, and thought by what means he could best annul the whole obligation of the late treaty^f.—With this view, and on this occasion, it was reported, that he sent an embassy to Miramoulin, emperor of Morocco, offering to resign his kingdom to him, and to hold it under tribute; to renounce the law of Christ, and to become Mahometan, in order to purchase his protection.—Modern historians reject the story as incredible, and as fabricated by the monks, to vilify the memory of their sovereign. But to them he was not peculiarly obnoxious; and so circumstantially is the tale told by the historian^g, who heared it, he says, from the mouth of Robert of London, one of the envoys, that to critics less fastidious it may bear many marks of authentic truth. The folly of John was adequate to the wildest undertakings.—Miramoulin despised the weak monarch, and rejected the preferred submission.

The

A legate arrives, before whom John renews his submission.

The league of the barons, or, at least, their general views, which the conversation of each day circulated, could be no longer hidden from the king. But how could he dissipate their designs? By experience, says the monkish historian, he had learned, that the pontiff was of all men the most proud and ambitious, insatiable of money, and prone to every crime, when allured by rewards or promises.—Innocent was ambitious; but the other charges applied not to him.—The king dispatched messengers to Rome, loaded with presents, and by them he promised still larger gifts; and he vowed an eternal fealty, would he engage, as the occasion offered, to confound the machinations of the primate, and to excommunicate the barons whose confederacy he feared. But already a legate had been appointed, and was on his road to England.—This new proposal of the king contained matter of great delicacy. Innocent weighed it maturely, and dismissed the messengers, with various letters of instruction to the king and his legate. This was Nicholas, bishop of Tusculum, who arrived in England about the end of September^h.

A council met in London before the king and the legate, where was first discussed the question, of the reparation to be made to the exiles. The terms which the king offered seemed highly equitable, and Nicholas approved them; but the cardinal, with the other sufferers, would not consent, insisting, that the whole of their losses should be first ascertained, and the debt be at once discharged. The legate, they discovered, was wholly devoted to the king.—On the following day they debated the question of the interdict; but

^h Mat. Par. ep. Inn. 130, 131.

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but neither here was any thing decided : when John, whose cause was now in the hands of the legate, at his requisition, came forward, and before the altar, in the church of St. Paul where the council was held, repeated the act of submission, whereby he had, on a former day, subjected his crown, and the realms of England and Ireland, to the Roman see. Even the charter of resignation, which, sealed with wax, had been given to Pandulphus, now received a golden seal, and was delivered to the legate, to be presented to his holiness. The council adjourned. Other meetings, in the succeeding months, assembled ; but nothing was concluded, and the interdict remained, and justice was not done to the sufferersⁱ.

The conduct of the legate soon roused the further resentment of Langton and the English bishops. He had been empowered by the pope, to fill the vacant churches and abbeys, with the king's consent : but he complied ill with his instructions, nominating men, whom neither science nor virtue qualified for the office. In vain were complaints made ; and Langton called a synod at Dunstable. They agreed to appeal to the pope ; on which the cardinal sent a messenger to Nicholas, apprising him of the appeal, and forbidding him to proceed to any other appointment, which was the known privilege, he said, of the metropolitan see of Canterbury. The legate disregarded the inhibition ; but consulting with the king, he dispatched Pandulphus, who was lately come to England, with proper instructions to the pontiff. Arrived in Rome, Pandulphus represented, in dark colours, the behaviour of the primate, and his

views,

ⁱ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

views, urging, that he and his colleagues loved money; and that, in the reparation which they demanded of their losses, they were too rigid and exacting: “Besides,” he added, “it is their aim to reduce their sovereign to undue sub-missions, and to abridge the liberties of the realm.” He then spoke of the king, on whom he lavished praises, and than whom, he said, he had not seen a more humble and more modest prince. Here he presented the charter, with its golden seal. Simon Langton, the primate’s brother, who assisted at the interview, attempted to reply; but his voice gained no attention. The eloquence of the golden seal was irresistible^k.

But whilst occurrences such as these, the preludes to a greater event, have engaged our thoughts; in the southern provinces of France, a scene was exhibited, from which reason and religion turn with horror. Already I have said, who were the Albigenses, and what their principal tenets. In vain had these been condemned, and their abettors punished, when legates came from Rome, by their presence, to check the spreading evil. It only spread the more; for the pageantry of dress and equipage, which attended these courtly missionaries, served to give an edge to the declamations of the sectaries, whose favourite topic of invective was, the wealth and worldly demeanour of churchmen. Soon then it appeared, that all orders of men had tasted of the poisoned cup: towns, villages, and hamlets, in the provinces especially of Gascony and Languedoc, swarmed with them; and what was extraordinary, when we consider the tenets of those men, tending to pull down grandeur and

^{1214.}
Crusade
against the
Albigenses.

^k Mat. Par.

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level distinction, even the nobles quitted the splendid worship of their ancestors, and joined their vassals in the rustic faith. Then it was, in the year 1208, that Innocent commanded a crusade to be preached against them, and sent his legates, for that purpose, into France. Philip received them, and applauded the measure; but he could not, engaged as he then was, do more than promise a powerful body of men, and permit his subjects to enroll themselves, as their zeal might direct. The promulgation of the crusade was attended with great success; for the expedition seemed to threaten few difficulties, and all the pardons, rewards, and privileges, which other crusaders had enjoyed, were held out to them. By way of distinction, these wore the cross on the breast. The duke of Burgundy, the earl of Nevers, the earl of Montfort, and other great barons, with many prelates and abbots, were soon in arms.

Raymond VI. earl of Toulouse, had declared himself the protector of the Albigenses, and had warmly imbibed their doctrines. This drew on him the hatred of the orthodox, and the vengeance of Rome. He was excommunicated. Could we credit the representations of his enemies, (and such were his historians,) Raymond was the most brutal and infamous of mortals. By what art could he now avert the impending storm? He appeared before the legate, and casting himself on his mercy, consented to abide by his decision. It was instantly decided, that he should surrender seven castles into the hands of the legate, and give sureties for his future submission. This being done, he received absolution, standing in his shirt, and was led by the neck into the church, while the legate, as he slowly passed through the crowd, beat him with rods.

The

The army of the crusaders entered Languedoc. Toulouse, indeed, and other places immediately dependent on the count, were, by his submission, secured from their attack; but his vassals, the lords of other districts, equally infected with error, and less pliant than himself, might expect no mercy. Beziers was taken by storm, and in it thirty thousand souls were massacred. Carcassonne, a neighbouring town, capitulated, and its fate was less bloody. Here, while the soldiers were busied in moving the engines, and scaling the walls, the ministers of religion had assembled, and had dared to invoke the father of mankind, in addresses to his holy spirit! Such was their enthusiasm; a passion, which can sanctify excess, and veil with piety the wildest crimes.

As yet the crusaders were without a general, acting under the guidance of their respective leaders, or all directed by the legate's voice. It was thought necessary to chuse one; and the election fell on the earl of Nevers, who declined the honour; and then on the duke of Burgundy, who likewise refused it. A committee, therefore, was appointed, who nominated the earl of Montfort; and he reluctantly consented to accept the important charge.—Simon de Montfort, from the honours he had possessed in England, sometimes called earl of Leicester, was nobly descended; and the historians of the day lavished all their powers, in praising the endowments of his mind, and the accomplishments of his person. His piety, they say, and his love of virtue equalled these. What was his real character will best appear from his conduct.—Invested with supreme command, he took possession of many castles, which had surrendered,

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and sent missionaries to convert their inhabitants. But already the term being expired, for which the crusaders had enlisted, many of them retired, at the head of whom was the count de Nevers. Nor did the duke of Burgundy long remain. De Montfort saw himself deserted by the army, while the winter-season came on. He had resources, however, within himself, which could counteract these untoward events. The splendor of his name kept the enemy in awe, and his address and engaging manners drew strangers to his standard. With these he took the field, whilst the inclement blast still howled; and conquered many places. The count de Foix, a powerful baron, and a protector of the heretics, then submitted to his arms.

With pain had Raymond witnessed these successes, which he could not impede, and he knew not where their progress might terminate, unless in the utter ruin of his vassals. Thus was he anxious, when a messenger came from the general to propose, that he would surrender to him the domain of all the places and territory, which he had already subdued. It was the advice, he added, of the legate; and should he refuse it, he must expect a declaration of war against himself. The secret views of Montfort were at once disclosed.—The earl resisted the unjust demand, urging his rights and the treaty he had concluded with the legate, when his excommunication was reversed; and he would himself, he said, instantly claim justice at the foot of St. Peter's chair.—With this view he went to Rome.

The ambitious designs of Montfort also roused a more potent enemy. This was the king of Arragon, whose sister the earl of Toulouse had lately married, and who, besides,

was

was count of Provence, and lord of many towns in Lan- BOOK V.
1214. guedoc. His faith was orthodox ; but that did not incline him to surrender his just rights, into the hands of a man, whose only claim was a successful invasion. In vain did Montfort strive to allure the king, who not only refused to comply, but, underhand, signified to the barons and men of power in the neighbourhood of Beziers and Albi, that, would they resume their arms, he would assist them with all his forces. Men, whom the want of an animating ally had only driven to submission, took fire at the proffered aid, and seized their arms. In a moment, the general saw a host spring up before him, whose activity was such, that, before he could make resistance, only three towns and five castles remained in his possession.

In the spring, the counts brought him a reinforcement of troops, with which he recovered some castles ; and other crusaders joined him from different countries. To draw any advantage from such auxiliaries, no common address was necessary. They were raw and undisciplined, whose period of service did not exceed forty days ; but they glowed with zeal, looking to the crown of martyrdom, if they fell, or else to the remission of all their sins. Montfort led them into action, and no danger could appal them, or fortress withstand their furious onset.

The earl of Toulouse was returned from Rome; where he had experienced some lenity from the pontiff; and he had waited on the emperor Otho, and had seen his sovereign, the French king. With these no artifice succeeded ; for they beheld in him, what in their zeal they hated most, the secret advocate of heresy. It was well known, what had

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had been the motive of his submission, and himself seemed little disposed any longer to wear the mask. During the siege of Lavaur, he gave assistance to the enemy. The king of Arragon began to waver in his attachment; and again the legates pronounced Raymond excommunicated.—I describe not the streams of blood, nor the flaming piles, which every where marked the progress of the orthodox army; while it is not my intention to insinuate, that excesses were not committed, which provoked resentment, and justified some retaliation. But who first drew the sword? Or was it so great a crime, to have dissented from the faith of Rome?

Twelve strong places now fell before de Montfort; and he marched against Toulouse. It was the third year of the war. Toulouse was then a vast city, nor were the besiegers sufficiently numerous to encompass its walls. The general saw his error, and having retreated towards Cahors, which surrendered to him, he had the mortification, in a few weeks, to see himself almost wholly deserted. So uncertain was the state of this varying warfare. An army of feudal vassals, I have elsewhere observed, ebbed and flowed, as does the ocean; but an army of crusaders, within reach of their homes, as this was, still more resembled that changeable element. Many towns were then retaken, and a general less expert than de Montfort, must have beheld every fortress torn violently from his arms. He, with the intrepidity of a hero, coolly maintained the ground he had taken, and in all his losses still kept the advantage of conquest, waiting till an army might return, which he should lead to other victories. He was in Castelnau-dari, a town of some strength, when news was brought, that the earl of Toulouse

and

and other barons, at the head of a great force, were marching to invest the place. The general, with his little army, retired to the castle. I shall not describe the series of this siege, which raised to higher fame the warlike name of de Montfort; for he foiled, by repeated sallies, every effort of the enemy, and defeating him in the field, compelled the count to raise the siege with ignominy. Nor was this all. Soon fresh succours arrived, when he extended his conquests, and by the beginning of the next year, 1212, we find little more than Toulouse and Montauban, in the hands of the enemy.

While the horrors of war thus raged, an underpart, often more atrocious, was acted by those, whom the canons of the church forbade to stain their hands with blood. Some, indeed, there were, whom a benevolent zeal moved, and these by means which reason must applaud, strove to convince the understanding, and to draw the heart from error. Their endeavours were not without success. The more ardent missionaries accompanied the army, projecting, with the generals, plans of battles and sieges; marking for destruction those, whose erroneous conduct had been most conspicuous; animating the soldiers, by prospects of an eternal crown, to deeds of carnage; and preaching the tenets of him, who was meek of heart, to the prisoners, the wounded, and the dying, while the butcher held his dagger to the throat, and the piles blazed round them. If few were reclaimed from error, who can wonder? We see them, as the historians relate, insulting the ministers, rejecting their advice, braving the executioners, and either, with the cool fortitude of conviction, stepping forward to death,

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death, or with an impetuous enthusiasm, as ancient martyrs had done, rushing to its arms. And, surely, these men had better pretensions to the appellation of martyrs, than they who wantonly courted danger, and when they fell, had on their heads the crimes, which unprovoked hostility, licentious devastation, and premeditated murder could perpetrate. These no papal decrees could authorise. Men, from obstinacy of character or from views of interest, may sacrifice much in the cause of error; but they will not steadily die in its defence, unless that error has impressed on their minds all the conviction of truth. Then are they martyrs.

De Montfort, now in possession of an extensive territory with its towns and castles, viewed himself as its lord, and convened an assembly at Pamiers. The ordinances here made, for the partition of lands amongst his barons, and for the re-establishment of general tranquillity, of a better police, and of the services of religion, were wise, and breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance.—The cause of count Raymond seemed irremediably lost; and again he had recourse to the king of Arragon, imploring his mediation. This prince was returned triumphant, from a great victory gained over the Saracens in Spain. He consented to be his brother's friend. A long negotiation commenced, first with the delegates and with the prelates assembled at Lavaur, and then with the pontiff. But the interest of de Montfort prevailed, which was deemed the interest of religion. The pope wrote to the king of Arragon, warmly entreating him to renounce the cause of the heretic, and menacing censures, if he persisted. The menace he contemned,

temned, and at once declared war against the darling of the church. Simon expostulated on an attack, which, he said, was unprovoked, and sent a defiance to the king.

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Hitherto the French monarch had himself taken no active part in a war, which his vassals principally had waged; but now unexpectedly he saw himself involved. Two prelates had come to Paris, from the catholic army. They were introduced to Louis, the young prince, then in his twenty-fifth year, and working on his ardent character, they prevailed on him to vow, that he would take the cross, and lead an army against the Albigenses. Philip, from whom the measure was concealed, heared it with much anger, but he could not with-hold his consent. He consented; and that a becoming magnificence might attend the expedition, he summoned a meeting of his nobles, when the number of men, the order of the march, and the time of departure, were regulated. But the report of a league between the emperor and the king of England, which threatened France with an invasion, at the moment transpired, and frustrated the expedition.

De Montfort, whom the prospect of the splendid succour had elated, was left exposed to the swelling power of the enemy. Nor was this his greatest trouble. The agents of the king of Arragon at the court of Rome, so well employed their eloquence, that Innocent was prevailed on to espouse their cause. They represented, that the ambition only of de Montfort upheld the war in Languedoc; that the heretics were broken down; that the few barons still in arms, were contending for their possessions, which had been violently wrested from them; that were these restored,

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peace would return, and the missionaries, unmolested, might diffuse the blessings of truth; that whilst the unsatiable interest of one man, under the mask of zeal for religion, drew armies to his standard, the cause of the church was sacrificed in Spain; that there was still a greater cause, which remained neglected in the east, and which he, emulating his predecessors, had nobly vowed to maintain: but did it become his wisdom, they concluded, than whom no wiser had graced the tiara, thus to abandon the glorious enterprise, in support of a man, who abused his favour, to rise to greatness on the ruins of provinces and the blood of their inhabitants?

The forcible address, in which there was much truth, succeeded. Innocent sent orders to de Montfort to surrender to the barons, who claimed them, the places he had taken, and to desist from further enterprizes. At the same time he recalled the indulgence, and commanded a crusade to be preached against the Saracens of Palestine. In amazement, the general convened the legates, and the chiefs of the army; when it was resolved instantly to dispatch a deputation to Rome. By their means, says the historian, Innocent was disabused of his error, and renewing his first order, strengthened the commission of his legates, and empowered them to pursue the war, with renovated vigour. But the imprudent measure had disconcerted the plans of de Montfort. Few soldiers came; many retired; and the king of Arragon, with a great army, was ready to enter Languedoc.

On the tenth of September, he entered, at the head of a hundred thousand men, and sat down before Muret, a

small

small town on the Garonne, three leagues below Toulouse. In its neighbourhood, says an historian, lived a lady whom the king loved, and her he wished to free from the quietude which the garrison of Muret often occasioned. This gave motion to a hundred thousand men ! With him were the earls of Toulouse, of Foix, and of Comminges.— De Montfort was at Fanjaux, eight leagues distant, when the news came to him. He was aware that Muret could make no resistance, and he hastened to its aid. But his whole force, when collected, hardly amounted to one thousand men. With these he advanced, and entered the town, on the opposite side of the river. Terms of peace were then offered to the king, which he rejected, and the general was made sensible, that the day was come, which should crown all his victories, or number him with the departed champions of the cross. Full of the glorious thought, he told his soldiers, that he meant not to endure the slow horrors of a siege, or to waste his time in fallies ; he would meet the enemy in the field, and offer him battle. The bishops assembled, and one of them, in the hearing of the troops, pronounced an anathema against the earl and his accomplices. He then advanced in his robes, holding a portion of the true cross in his hands. The soldiers, armed as they were, alighted from their horses, and coming up, each, in his turn, bowed before the sacred sign. But the ceremony would be tedious ; wherefore the bishop of Comminges, impatiently took it into his hand, and stepping forward, with it blessed the multitude : “ Go,” said he, “ in the name of him who died on this cross : I pledge myself for you at the day of judgment, that he who shall

BOOK V. “ fall, this day, in battle, shall rise to the crown of martyrdom.” More than once he repeated the solemn words.

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They mounted their horses.—De Montfort also, with his eyes raised to heaven, praid : “ God of armies,” he said, “ thou didst chuse me for thy general. In this day of trial, hear my supplication ; and let the world know, “ how just is the cause, which thou hast committed to me.” He rose from the ground ; and the trumpet sounded.

The army, not more than nine hundred men, all cavalry, left the town, and as they entered the plain, formed into three bodies. The enemy, prepared to receive them, did not deign to move. The circumstance was perhaps favourable. De Montfort saw the royal ensign, and rushing forward, broke the first line. The king was in the second. Him he assailed ; the battle thickened ; and in a few moments, the monarch fell. Dismay at once spread through the ranks ; no order prevailed ; and thousands were butchered without resistance. The victory of de Monfort, in a few hours, was complete ; for the historians relate, that nearly twenty thousand men were slain of the enemy, while the crusaders did not lose more than one knight and a few soldiers!—The general, ceasing from the carnage, halted, and offered up his vows to heaven. Such was the battle of Muret.

It might have been expected, that the war was at an end. But destitute of troops, as de Montfort was, he could draw little advantage from his victory. Only he ravaged the country, unmolested, and kept the enemy in alarm. Soon afterwards, a new legate came from Rome, to negotiate a peace, and a numerous re-enforcement, whom the fame

of

of the late victory roused, joined de Montfort. With these he extended his conquests; and soon the most refractory, awed by the impression of his name, listened to terms of accommodation. The principal barons submitted, and the bold zeal of the heretics was, for a time, suppressed¹.

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¹ Hist. Albigen. et scrip. contemp. passim.

END OF BOOK V.

T H E

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F THE
R E I G N
O F
K I N G J O H N,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

B O O K VI.

John lands at la Rochelle.—The emperor Otho is dethroned.—Battle of Bouvines.—The interdict is taken from England.—The barons meet at St. Edmundsbury.—Their further proceedings.—Runnemede.—Magna Charta.—John meditates vengeance, and retires.—Conduct of Innocent.—Preparations for a civil war.—The barons are excommunicated, and Langton goes to Rome.—Fourth council of Lateran.—England desolated by the king's forces.—The barons excommunicated by name.—Prince Louis is invited over.—A Roman legate obstructs his design.—The prince lands.—His cause is agitated at Rome.—He pursues his conquests, and lays siege to the castles of Dover and

and Windsor.—John takes the field.—Perplexity of the barons.—The king falls sick and dies.—General view.—Conclusion.

BOOK VI.

FROM the horrors of the war, I have described, so adverse to the mild spirit of truth and the best interests of human reason, I return, with pleasure, to the troubled politics of England. Reason here applauds the strife, which the oppression of an unworthy prince provoked; while religion does not condemn it; and the eye of the spectator carried forward on the scene, beholds, with a secret rapture, the dawn of freedom slowly emerging from the gloom.

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John lands at
la Rochelle.

Early in the present year, John, to whom no view of things at home could give pleasure, and whom the season pressed to execute his part of a league which had been lately formed, again prepared to embark for France. The barons, he now, at least, hoped, would be subservient to his wishes. They obeyed his summons. And still more to gain the good will of the people, and of the church, he dispatched messengers to Rome, who might obtain, on terms they should propose, the final relaxation of the interdict. On the second of February, with his queen, he went to Portsmouth, and thence sailing, landed with a powerful army at la Rochelle^a. — The league, I have mentioned, was with his nephew the emperor Otho, and with the earl of Flanders; the leading clause of which was, that, while John, on the side of Aquitaine, insulted the French provinces, the emperor, at the head of the allied army, should enter France, by the north-eastern frontier.—A momentary digression is necessary.

Otho,

^a Mat. Par. an. 1214. Annal. Waver.

Otho, whose ascent to the imperial throne I described, by a series of imprudences had seemed to have projected his own downfall. By retracting the promise he had made to Innocent, to surrender to the holy see certain possessions, which he claimed, and by urging rights which, perhaps, were due to his crown, he provoked the indignation of the haughty pontiff. Not satisfied, he cited young Frederic king of Sicily, the ward of Innocent, to do him homage for his territories, the avowed fief of the Roman court; and when the prince, as became him, refused compliance, Otho ordered his generals to enter Apulia. In vain did Innocent remonstrate; and as it was not in his character long to endure controul, he excommunicated the emperor. Maturely had the pontiff weighed this last exertion of power, from the accomplishment of which he resolved not to recede. The Romans hated Otho: the interests of Sicily must be combined with his own: he could expect much from many German princes, naturally allied to the house of Suabia: the Ghibeline faction in Italy was powerful: finally, the French monarch, who had opposed his elevation, and had leagued with his rival the late emperor, must warmly espouse any measure, which should tend to the humiliation of a man, the nephew of him he hated. So reasoned Innocent.—But Otho, notwithstanding, had himself marched into Italy; and Calabria being over-run, and the neighbouring provinces, little remained to oppose his arms. In the island of Sicily, a conspiracy formed in his favour, invited him to the throne; and fortune, he thought, was ready to crown his brightest wishes, when a mine suddenly sprang, against the effects of which no measures had been taken.

The emperor
Otho is de-
thronded.

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The relentless Innocent, aided, we are told, by the politics of the French king, had projected the great design. He had a legate also in Germany, the archbishop of Mentz, well-disposed to co-operate with his views. To him he proposed, and through him to other bishops, to publish the sentence of excommunication, he had himself issued against Otho. The sentence was published; and agreeably to its spirit, a league with many German princes was, at the same time, formed, who swore, instantly to proceed to the deposition of the emperor, and to raise young Frederic to his throne. Otho heared the news, and leaving his conquests behind him, returned towards Germany. But as he passed through Italy, and the free states of Lombardy, he had the mortification to find, that his wily enemy the pontiff, had debauched the allegiance of many, and that they were leagued against him. He proceeded, and in a diet at Nuremberg threw himself on the loyalty of his vassals. The generous measure gave audacity to the faction. They seized their arms, and proclaimed Frederic. Otho, thus braved, carried fire and sword into the territories of his enemies, the principal of whom were the king of Bohemia, and the duke of Bavaria. Meanwhile, Frederic, urged by repeated calls, through many difficulties, made his way to Constance. He was received by his friends, and crowned at Mentz, with an applause, that spoke the increasing power of his faction; for the exertions of Innocent had been unceasing, and the king of France loudly proclaimed himself his ally. Otho, whose falling interest every hour witnessed, retired to his patrimonial estates of Brunswick. Now it was, that he entered into the league I mentioned.

mentioned. His empire in Germany was at an end, he BOOK VI.
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saw ; but he might be able to revenge himself, in his fall, on Philip, the instrument of his ruin ^b.

Landed with his army at la Rochelle, the English king cast his eye to the northern provinces, which lately had been severed from his crown. Many barons of Poitou, impelled by threats, or allured by promises, came in, and renewed their allegiance ; amongst whom was the earl de la Marche, to whom Isabella, the English queen, it will be remembered, had been once affianced. He then traversed the province, and entering Anjou, took its capital by storm, and conquered other places. The brilliant scene soon clouded. Philip commanded his son to make head against the king of England, who, by this time, had entered the Lower Bretagne, and was besieging an important castle. The English army outnumbered the enemy ; but when John prepared for battle on their approach, the Poitevin barons acquainted him, that they were not disposed to fight. He quitted the field, and leaving his conquests to the mercy of the young prince, precipitately withdrew to Parthenai, a castle at the extremity of Poitou ^c. Here closed his exploits and the campaign of Aquitaine, when he was at liberty to contemplate the operations of the allied army, on the side of Flanders.

Otho, with what troops he could collect, in the spring had quitted Brunswick, and he was permitted, unheeded by his rival, to advance into Flanders. The impolitic measure is not accounted for by the historians. In Flanders he was joined by other German troops ; and here he found

The battle of
Bergues.

^b Murat. citans anctores coet. Chron. Ursperg.

^c Mat. Par.

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the dukes of Brabant and Limbourg, the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, and William earl of Salisbury, with other great men and generals, at the head of their respective forces. An English army had been there since the preceding year, when they failed to assist Ferdinand against the French monarch; and John, before he left England, had transmitted to them great sums of money. The chiefs reviewed their forces, when they were found to amount to a hundred and fifty thousand men. The heart of Otho once more beat high.—Philip, on the other hand, did not shrink from the mighty contest. He visited the frontier of his country, and left his son, with a sufficient force, to watch the motions of the English king. Now it appeared, that the plan of operations had been well concerted; for being thus obliged to divide his forces, the great strength of the nation was no longer at his command. Under the walls of Peronne, his faithful barons had marshalled their vassals; and hither Philip came, about the twentieth of July. The army did not exceed fifty thousand men. They marched; and on the twenty seventh, which was a Sunday, near the bridge de Bouvines, between Tournay and Lille, both armies came in sight. In the centre of the French line was the king, and in the opposite battle stood Otho: on the left was the count de Dreux, facing the earl of Boulogne and Salisbury with the English forces, and on the right, was the duke of Burgundy, facing the earl of Flanders.

I shall not detail the various chances, nor the achievements, of this memorable day, than which none so brilliant had yet graced the annals of France. Philip, whose prowess

was

was unrivalled, and whose conduct, as a general, fame loudly echoed, narrowly escaped with his life; as did Otho. Their armour, tempered by the ablest workmen, shivered or blunted the recoiling weapons, and bent to no concussion. Dragged from his horse by a German soldier, who had fastened his barbed javelin on the top of his cuirass, the king, with all his armour on, sprang from the ground, and extricating himself, mounted the horse of Peter Tristan, a valiant knight, who nobly preferred the prince's safety to his own. Otho, in similar danger, resisting a hundred swords, and seized round the body by William de Barres, the bold knight, who had foiled our Richard, when tilting with him on the plains of Sicily, was rescued by the impetuous fury of his horse, wounded mortally in the eye.—But the French knights were every where irresistible; and the glory of the day was theirs. Formed into a squadron, they guarded their king and the royal banner, which, for the first time, is mentioned to have borne its *fleurs de lis*; and, as the tide of battle swelled, they mixed in the thickest conflict.—On the right wing of the enemy, the earl of Flanders, thrown from his horse and bleeding, when his troops were broken, surrendered his arms to the lords de Mareuil. Here the Burgundians fought, and their duke owed his life to the attachment of his soldiers.—The earl of Boulogne, late in the day, and when all was lost, still obstinately resisted. But his horse being stabbed under him, he fell; and as three knights contended for the honour of making him their prisoner, he gave his sword to the chevalier de Guerin, who fortunately came up. De Guerin, elected bishop of Senlis, this day acted as *marechal* under the king, in the arrangement

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ment of the battle. The son of Rosamond, also, William earl of Salisbury had surrendered himself to the bishop of Beauvais. He was the prelate whom Richard, as has been told, confined so long in prison, and at Bouvines he fought with a ponderous club, alledging, that the church-canons did not permit him to shed blood. He met Salisbury, buried in carnage, and beat him to the ground.—Night began to fall, and as the defeat of the enemy was complete, the battle ceased.^d

Otho, having escaped from the field, withdrew, as he could, into Brunswick, where he is no more heard of, leaving his rival in the quiet possession of empire, and where, four years after, he died.—The conqueror, by slow marches, proceeded to Paris, distributing his prisoners, who were numerous, in the castles as he passed; only reserving the earl of Flanders to grace his triumph. He entered his capital, and for eight days, all was festivity and gladness.—As the historians, who relate this great event, were principally of the French nation, we may be allowed to suspect some partiality in the narration. They augmented, perhaps, the number of the enemy, or they diminished their own; and the same may be said of the wounded, the killed, and the prisoners. No troops were braver or better disciplined than the Brabanters, the Flemings, the Germans, and the English, and their generals were the greatest warriors of the day; but the battle was won by the knights, or cavalry, which, on the side of Philip, was uncommonly numerous.

It

^d *Guil. Brito, Rigord. Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.*

It was not, it is said, till after his return to Paris, that Philip was fully sensible of the great importance of the victory he had gained; for he now discovered, that secret intrigues had been carried on with many barons of the realm, and that they only waited the moment of his defeat, publicly to take up arms. This would have been on the south of the Loire, and in Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, the nobles of which provinces, allured by promises, or the prospects which another change might open, shewed a wish of returning to their former sovereign. The victory of Bouvines dissipated their rash design; and Philip prudently dissembled his knowledge of it. But, not long afterwards, he advanced with an army into Poitou, where the king of England was, and by the mediation of the legate, concluded with him a truce of five years. What policy induced Philip to adopt this measure, when, with ease, it seems, he might have dispossessed the English of their remaining territory in France, does not appear. Probably it was owing to the disaffection in the barons, which had appeared, and which he feared to stimulate.

Before this time, the interdict had been taken from England. The messengers returned from Rome, bringing letters to the legate, who had not quitted the realm, which empowered him to remove the heavy grievance, and to compromise the dispute with the exiles. On this he summoned a great council to meet him in London, before which an accurate statement was laid of the money already paid, and of the debt still due. This amounted to thirteen thousand marks, for the payment of which two bishops stood sureties. Thus ended this irksome business. And then

*The interdict
taken from
England.*

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The barons
meet at St.
Edmundsbury

then the legate, on the twenty-ninth of June, solemnly withdrew the interdict. It had lasted more than six years, to the injury of religion, the confusion of all order, and the detriment of the state. The tidings rang through the land, and the hearts of the people thrilled with gladness^c.

Concord thus restored, though shame had marked his own arms and those of his allies, John might expect to find more good humour in his vassals, than hitherto he had experienced. On the twentieth of October he returned to England. The absence of many in the expedition to France, and the eventful crisis of the war in Flanders, had, for a time, suspended the deliberations of the friends to liberty. The cardinal also, whose mind of superior energy invigorated, whilst it modelled, the great design, had been engaged in the concerns of the interdict. But now no motive of further delay operated; and as the weeks of winter, the season of purposes and stratagem, came on, the barons met their friends, and they talked of the league they had formed with Langton, and of the oath they had taken. “The time,” they said, “is favourable: and the feast of St. Edmund approaches, when multitudes resort to his shrine. There we may assemble, without suspicion,” It was resolved.

The day came, the twentieth of November; and as the devotion was fashionable, the barons repaired to St. Edmundsbury, unobserved. Their meetings here were frequent, but secret; and in one of them, again was the charter produced, containing, in substance, the laws of the Confessor, which the primate had put into their hands. The

eight

^c Mat. Pat. Annal. Waver.

fight of the venerable instrument roused the spirit of freedom; and without further deliberation, they hastened, in a body, to the church of the martyr. A more solemn and heart-swelling ceremony had never been witnessed. As seniority gave precedence, the barons advanced to the altar, and with their hands laid on it, swore: "If the king refuse to grant the rights, we claim, we will withdraw our fealty, and wage war on him, till by a charter, under his own seal, he shall confirm our just petitions." Each baron pronounced the oath. It was then agreed that, after Christmas, they should wait on the king, and present their petition to him; and, in the mean time, should provide themselves with arms and horses, that, if he receded from his oath made before the primate, which was probable, they might be in readiness to seize his castles, and force him to compliance. This done, they separated, and withdrew^f. — Langton, it appears, was not present on the occasion.

The king, when Christmas came, held his court at Worcester. But alarms disturbed its festivity, and on the day itself, departing, he repaired to the New-Temple in London. The barons were here; and in a military array, which announced their purpose, they waited on the king, and presented their petition. It was, "that he would confirm certain liberties and laws of the Confessor, with other privileges, granted to themselves, to the realm of England, and to the English church, as are contained in the charter of Henry I. and in the laws just mentioned." They added: "At Winchester, Sir, when you were

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Their further proceedings.

^f Mat. Par.

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" absolved by our primate, that was your promise; and the
 " oath you took, binds you to a compliance."—John, with
 much agitation, heared the bold address, and surveying
 their arms, said: " Your petition contains matter, weighty
 " and arduous. I must have leisure till easter, that, with
 " due deliberation, I may be able to do justice to myself,
 " and satisfy the dignity of my crown."—Debates ensued,
 and, on both sides, proposals were made; when the king
 finally consented, that the cardinal, the bishop of Ely, and
 William earl of Pembroke, should be his sureties, that, on
 the appointed day, he would give them the satisfaction they
 demanded. On this the barons returned home.—But from
 this delay, John vainly fancied great advantage might be
 drawn. He caused the oath of fealty to be renewed by his
 subjects, and the act of homage by his vassals. And then,
 (which would shield him, he thought, from every danger,) on
 the second of February, he took the cross, declaring his
 intention of leading an army into Palestine. But, by no
 precaution, did he attempt to recover the favour of the
 people, or to weaken the combination of the nobles.

In easter-week, the barons met at Stamford, in great military pomp, numbering in their retinue two thousand knights, with their retainers variously armed, and pledged to the cause of liberty. The names of the barons, as recorded by the historian, are forty-five; but it seemed, he says, that nearly the whole nobility of the realm had now joined the league.—The king was at Oxford.—On the Monday, therefore, after easter, (which was the appointed day,) the barons proceeded to Brackley, where a deputation,

tion, composed of the primate, the earl of Pembroke, and some others, met them from the king, requesting to know, in his name, what were those laws and liberties, which they demanded from their sovereign? They delivered to the deputies a schedule, containing the chief articles of their petition. "These are our claims," they said, "which if not instantly granted by the king, and confirmed to us under the royal signet, our arms shall force him to compliance." The deputies returned, and the cardinal, with the schedule in his hand, expounded its contents. "And why do they not demand my crown also?" exclaimed John furiously: "These things are vain and frivolous, contrary to the plainest reason.—By God's teeth, I will not grant liberties to them, that shall make me a slave." It was to no purpose, that they urged every argument to obtain his compliance. He ordered them to return, and to let the barons know, what his resolution was^b.

The confederated nobles stood not in hesitation. They received the king's reply, and at once chose Robert Fitz-Walter their general, naming him the *marechal of the army of God and of the holy church*; which signified that, as the king had violated his oath, they viewed themselves, in the language of the times, as engaged in a holy war, against the enemy of justice and of the church: and seizing their arms, they marched against the castle of Northampton. But they were without engines, and their attacks on the walls were fruitless.—When we know how premeditated the insurrection was, this improvidence must surprise us.—Fifteen days passed, when they raised the siege, and proceeded to Bed-

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^b Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

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ford, which was delivered into their hands. Here messengers arrived from the capital, with secret advice, that the principal citizens were in their interest, and that the gates would be open to receive them. The tidings gave them joy. They marched to Ware, and on the following morning, which was Sunday, the twenty fourth of May, while the people were at mass, the army, in silence, entered the city. And now conscious of their superior strength, the barons issued proclamations, requiring all such, who had hitherto remained neutral, to join them against their perjured prince, and menacing, in case of refusal, to treat them as the public enemies of the state. The commination was hardly needful, for few, it seems, were sincerely attached to the royal party; and as the proclamation called for a decision, they quitted their castles, and joined the standard of freedom. Some only, at the head of whom was the earl of Pembroke, and Salisbury now returned from captivity, judged it most expedient, not to depart from court. The bishops also remained, with the primate¹.

Runnemede.

Great, at this moment, was the terror of the king. He saw himself deserted, scarcely seven knights remaining near his person; and it was evident, should the barons proceed, that all his castles must fall, and himself become their prisoner. The duplicity, he had often practised, it would be now, he thought, most expedient to exercise; and circumstances might arise, which would dissipate the league, or lull its leaders into a fatal security. He resolved to give them their terms, and to throw himself on fortune, for such redress or vengeance, as time should offer. "Go," said he to

¹ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

to Pembroke and other deputies, “ inform the barons, BOOK VI.
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 “ that, for the good of peace and the exaltation of my realm,
 “ I will freely grant them the laws and liberties, which
 “ they ask. Tell them to name a day and a place, where we
 “ may meet to adjust our differences.” The deputies re-
 paired to London, and announcing the king’s proposal, it
 was received with unbounded joy. “ Let the day,” replied
 the barons, “ be the fifteenth of June; and the place be
 “ Runnemede^k.”—Runnemede, which has been inter-
 preted the *mead of council*, was a meadow between Staines
 and Windsor, where, in ancient times, great assemblies had
 been often held^l; but to which the approaching event
 would give a never-ending celebrity.

On the day, both parties appeared on Runnemede. With
 the king were the primate and the archbishop of Dublin,
 seven bishops, Pandulphus the pontiff’s friend, and Almeric
 the master of the English Templars: of the laity, the earl of
 Pembroke, and fourteen other earls and barons.—To enu-
 merate the opposite party, observes the historian, would be
 needless, which comprehended the remaining nobility of
 England. They stood apart, waiting the important inter-
 view.—In what form the conference opened, is not said;
 nor who were the mediators. We only know, that debates,
 as was natural, ensued; and that various proposals were
 made. But the king was soon sensible, that he must com-
 plie. With a facility, therefore, which might justly have
 raised suspicion, he acquiesced in their demand, and signed
 the charter of laws and liberties, which the barons present-
 ed to him^m. This was the GREAT CHARTER.

The

^k Mat. Par.

^l Mat. West. an. 1215.

^m Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

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*Magna
Charta.*

The *preamble* states that, “for the salvation of his soul, “and the souls of his ancestors and heirs, to the honour of “God, and the exaltation of the holy church, and amendment of the kingdom, by the advice of his prelates and nobles, (whose names are mentioned,) the king had granted to God, and confirmed by the present charter, “for himself and heirs for ever,” the following rights and liberties.

1. “That the church of England shall be free, and enjoy her whole rights and liberties inviolable.”—It then mentions a charter, which, some time before, he had granted, with a view to those liberties, and which the pope had confirmed, establishing the *freedom of elections* in all cases of vacancy, whether in churches or monasteries.

In such general and unrestricted terms is this article conveyed, which might well prove a source of endless altercation. The *Constitutions of Clarendon* seem to have been forgotten, while the church was thus *established*, in the full possession of whatever might be called her *rights* and *liberties*. Such had been the language, though not quite so general, of the preceding charters of Henry I. Stephen, Henry II.

2. “To all the *freemen* of the realm the underwritten “liberties are granted.”

By *freemen* is meant every description of subjects, from the highest to the lowest order of vassals, who were not slaves or bondmen. This will appear.

3. “If any earl, or baron, or others, who hold of the king in *chief*, by military service, shall die, and at the time of their death, the heir is of *full age*, and owes a *relief*, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; “that

“ that is, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's BOOK VI.
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 “ barony, by a hundred pounds: the heir or heirs of a
 “ baron, for a whole barony, by a hundred marks: the
 “ heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by a
 “ hundred shillings at most: and he who shall owe less shall
 “ give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.”

When any of the king's tenants *in capite* died, the king seized the estate, and the heir, though of the age of twenty one, before he recovered his right, was obliged to sue for his lands, the possession of which he received on doing homage, and paying a certain composition called *relief*. Many abuses, during the arbitrary reigns of the Norman kings, had rendered this custom peculiarly grievous. The charter of Henry I. had ordained, that the *relief* should be *meet* and *cquitable*; but neither was that charter, though renewed by Henry II. ever executed, nor could a loose expression be any check, on the exorbitant demands of power.

4. “ But if the heir of any such be *under age*, and shall
 “ be *in ward*; when he comes of age, he shall have his
 “ inheritance *without relief*.”

During the nonage of such heirs, their persons and estates were in the custody of the crown, which received all the profits. *Wardships* and *reliefs*, as has been shewn, were branches of the royal revenue. The practice of *wards* was founded on the notion, that every *fief* was a benefic; and therefore that, while the heir, as a minor, could not perform his military services, the issues thereof naturally reverted to the superior, who could employ another in his stead. But in the charter of Henry I. this feudal right had been surrendered to the widow of the deceased, or to the nearest relation of the

BOOK VI. the heir. That here the crown should have been permitted to resume it, may seem extraordinary.

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5. "The warden of the land of such heir, shall take therefrom only reasonable profits, and that without destruction and waste of the men or things. And if the guardianship of the lands be committed to the sheriff, or any other, and he make destruction and waste, the king shall compel him to give satisfaction, and the lands shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall be answerable for the issues. And if such wardship be given or sold to any one, and he make destruction or waste upon the lands, he shall lose the wardship, which shall be committed to two men, as before."

Thus was the lord empowered to dispose of his *wardship*, by appointing a warden, or by a deed of gift or sale, for the term of nonage ; in all which cases, considerable sums of money were generally raised.

6. "But the warden, so long as he hath the wardship of the land, shall maintain the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things pertaining to that land, out of the issues of the same land ; and shall restore to the heir, when he comes of full age, his whole land stocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the time of wainage shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear."

These regulations might prevent some abuses ; but the practice of *wardships* was in itself highly oppressive. Let it not be asked, why the barons did not demand their suppression ; or rather, that the grant of Henry I. in this instance, should be renewed ? It is too obvious, that the feudal rights which

the

the sovereign was here permitted to retain, would, by the same act, be confirmed to themselves, in regard to their own vassals.

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7. "Heirs shall be married without *disparagement*."

That is, agreeably to their rank. The king could dispose of them at pleasure, provided that, before the marriage was contracted, the nearest relations were made acquainted with itⁿ. The same was the power of all other lords. It was another source of abuse and oppression; but it was likewise a source of wealth.

8. "A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith and without difficulty, have her marriage portion (*maritagium*) and her inheritance; nor shall she give any thing for her dower, or her inheritance, which her husband and she held at the day of his death: and she may remain in the mansion of her husband, forty days after his death."

9. "She shall not be distrained to marry, so long as she shall be willing to live without a husband. But she shall give security, that she will not marry, without the royal assent, if she holds of the king; or without the consent of the lord, of whom she holds."

Nearly the same clauses are in the charter of Henry I. which contains regulations about female heirs, that are not repeated here.

10. "Neither the king nor his officers, shall seize any land or rent for any debt, so long as the chattels of the debtor are sufficient to pay it."

ⁿ Mat. Par.

11. "If the principal debtor fail in the payment of the debt, then the sureties shall answer for it."

These are restraining statutes, and shew what before had been the power of the monarch.

12, 13. "Money borrowed from a Jew shall pay no interest, while the heir to the borrower continues under age, of whomsoever he may hold.—And if any one die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt; and his children shall be provided with necessaries, according to the estate of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, saving the service of the lords. In like manner it shall be with the debts, due to other persons than Jews."

The last clause is only to be referred to the words, "saving the service of the lords."

14. "No *scutage* or *aid* shall be imposed on the kingdom, unless by the common council of the kingdom, except to ransom the king's person, and to make his eldest son a knight, and to marry his eldest daughter once: and for this shall only be paid a reasonable aid."

By *scutage* (*servitium scuti*) was meant military service, due to the king from the tenants in chief. It likewise signified the pecuniary aid, often paid to the king *in lieu* of that service; and sometimes the tax, which was imposed on each vassal, for the service of the public. *Scutages* and *aids* (which latter always mean a pecuniary subsidy) had often been arbitrarily imposed. This clause, therefore, which forbids the levying such subsidies, without the sanction of the national council, becomes infinitely important. The three great feudal cases were excepted, however, from the rule,

and that under a specious stipulation, which still left an exorbitant prerogative in the hands of the crown. But the barons, also, over their respective vassals, were to enjoy the same arbitrary privilege.

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15, 16. " In like manner it shall be concerning the aids of the city of London ; and that city shall have all her ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water.—Furthermore, all other cities, and burghs, and towns, and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs ; and shall have the common council of the kingdom, concerning the assessment of their aids, except in the three cases aforesaid."

Cities, therefore, and towns contributed to the national subsidy, as did the tenants of the crown ; and they were a part of the royal demesne, or invested by feoffment in the clergy or baronage. They held their liberties and customs under certain tenures, or the obligation of annual payments to their lords : but their privileges were now secured to them, and arbitrary assessments were removed.

17, 18, 19. " And for the assessing of *scutages* shall be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, *singly*, by writs from the king.—And furthermore, shall be summoned, *in general*, by the sheriffs and bailiffs of the crown, *all others who hold of the king in chief*, to a certain day, that is, at the end of forty days at least, and to a certain place : and in all writs of such summons, the cause of the summons shall be expressed.—And summons being thus made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of such as are present, although all that were summoned come not."

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Thus was formed the *common council of the kingdom*, such as, in the preceding history, we have seen often assembled. It consisted only of the king's *immediate vassals*, of such as held of him in chief, with an exclusion of all other orders of citizens. The same term of *common council of the kingdom* occurs in the charter of the conqueror. It was no new establishment : but strange it is that, in this feudal congress, many writers should have discovered *all* the organs of a *parliament*, arising from the equal representation of the people ! As the kings, in matters of great national concern, had often acted *without* the advice of this council, the present clauses were introduced, to restore to it its constitutional vigour.

20. “ The king shall not in future grant to any one, that
 “ he take *aid* of his own free vassals, unless to ransom his
 “ body ; and to make his eldest son a knight ; and to
 “ marry his eldest daughter once : and for this shall only be
 “ paid a reasonable aid.”

The power of the barons had been hitherto as tyrannical, as that of the crown, only that the royal permission seems to have been, sometimes, necessary, to sanction their oppression. And the discretionary power, in certain cases, of levying a *reasonable aid*, thus still entrusted to them, shews how little they had in view, the general interest of the people.

21. “ No man shall be compelled to perform more service
 “ for a knight's fee, or other free tenure, than is due from
 “ thence.”

A *knight's fee* denoted the complete service of one knight. Baronies consisted of these fees, in a greater or less number, according

according to the original charters of feoffment or investiture. BOOK VI.
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Each fee being charged with the service of one knight, if a barony held two fees, it sent two knights, at the call of the king, or subsidised for two, as the summons might direct, and so on, in proportion to the number of fees. But these fees were held by knighthood, as well as by barony; and this constituted the two orders of knights and barons. The lands or honours, to which the fees were annexed, were very disproportionate in extent and real value.

22, 23. “ *Common pleas* shall not follow the court, but “ be holden in some certain place.—And trials *de nova
diffaifina, de morte antecessoris, et de ultima præsentatione,* “ shall be taken in their proper counties, by two justiciaries, “ sent four times a year, for that pupose.”

The *court of common pleas* was, at this time, erected, or received a legal confirmation; and by that establishment, the *curia regis*, which generally attended the royal person, and was the great seat of judicature, became relieved from a variety of causes.—The appointment also of justices, at stated times, to hold assizes in the counties, tended much to the ease of the people, and the preservation of order. We noticed, in the foregoing history, many transient attempts to establish that wise regulation.

24, 25. “ A *free man* shall not be amerced for a small “ fault, but according to the degre of the fault; and for “ a great fault, in proportion to the heinousness of it; “ saving to him his *contenementum* (means of livelihood:) “ and after the same manner, a merchant, saving to him “ his *mercandisa* (means of trading).—And a husbandman “ (*villanus*) shall be amerced after the same manner, saving

“ to

- BOOK VI. " to him his wainage (implements of husbandry) : and none
 1215. " of the aforesaid amerciaments shall be assed, but by the
 " oath of honest men of the neighbourhood."

Amerciament was a pecuniary punishment for trespasses of various kinds, and was distinguished from *fine*. The offender was supposed to lie at the *mercy* of his lord, whence the word came.—The provisions of these two articles are peculiarly interesting, being calculated to relieve an order of citizens, who, till this time, had been much oppressed. I translate the word *villanus* husbandman, rather than *villain*; because the latter sometimes imported a *slave* or *bondman*, which, as is evident, was not here meant. The charter professes to have in view the *freemen* of the kingdom only, (art. 2.) among whom were such merchants and husbandmen, as possessing certain fees, were denominated *libere tenentes*. The class of *free socmen*, or tenants in socage, is well known. Villains or slaves, properly so called, were either bound to the person of the lord and his heirs, or were annexed to the manor, as a part of the owner's substance. They were not deemed members of the commonwealth, or entitled to any rights of vassals. For such no charter provided liberties, though that of the conqueror, in certain cases, provided for their emancipation.

26, 27. " Earls and barons shall not be amerced, but by
 " their peers, and according to the quality of the offence.
 " —And no clerk shall be amerced for his lay-tenement,
 " but according to the proportion aforesaid, and not ac-
 " cording to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice."

28, 29, 30. " Neither town, nor any person, shall be
 " distrained to make bridges over rivers, unless anciently
 " and

“ and of right they are bound to do it.—No sheriff, constable, coroners, or king's bailiffs, shall hold places of the crown.—All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and tretthings (third part of a county, vulg. *riding*,) shall stand at the old ferm, without any increase, except in the demesne lands of the crown.”

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31, 32. “ If any one, holding a lay-fee of the crown, dies, the debt he may owe to the king shall be first discharged, and the executors shall then fulfill the will of the deceased.—And if any freeman dies intestate, his chattels ~~shall~~ be distributed by his nearest relations and friends by view of the church, saving to every one his debts, which the deceased owcd.”

33, 34, 35. “ No constable or bailiff of the crown shall take corn or other chattels of any man, unless he presently gives him money for it, or hath respite of payment from the seller.—No constable shall distrain any knight to give money for castle-guard, if he himself will do it in his own person, or by another able man, in case himself is hindered by any reasonable cause.—And if the king leads him, or sends him, into the army, he shall be free from castle-guard, for the time he shall be in the army by the king's command.”

36, 37. “ No sheriff or bailiff of the crown, or any other, shall take horses or carts of any for carriage, without the consent of the freeman.—Nor shall the king, or his officers, take any man's timber for his castles, or other uses, unless by consent of the owner of the timber.”

38. “ The king shall retain the lands of those, who are convicted of felony, but one year and a day; and then they shall be delivered to the lord of the fee.”

39. “ All

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39. "All wears shall be destroyed in the rivers Thames
" and Medway, and throughout all England, except on
" the sea-coast."

40. "The writ, which is called *præcipe*, shall not be
" granted to any one of any tenement, whereby a freeman
" may lose his cause (or right of pleading.)

Præcipe quod reddat was a writ, or in general an order from the king, or some court of justice, to put in possession one who complains of having been unjustly ousted.

41. "There shall be one measure of wine and one of ale,
" through the realm, and one measure of corn; that is,
" the *London-quarter*: and one breadth of dyed cloth; and
" the weights shall be as the measures."

42. "From henceforward nothing shall be given or taken
" for a writ of *Inquisition*, from him that desires an inquisition
" of life or limbs, but it shall be granted gratis, and
" not denied."

43, 44. "If any one holds of the crown by *fee farm*, or
" *socage*, or *burgage*, and holds lands of another by *military*
" *service*, the king shall not have the wardship of the heir
" and land, which belongs to another man's fee, by reason
" of what he holds of the crown: nor shall he have the
" wardship of the fee-farm, socage, or burgage, unless the
" fee-farm is bound to perform military service.—Neither
" shall the king have the wardship of an heir, or of any
" land, which he holds of another by military service, by
" reason of any *petit-serjeanty* he holds of him, as by the
" service of giving the king daggers, arrows, or the like."

To hold in *fee-farm* was, when some rent was reserved by the king or lord on the creation of the tenancy: in

socage

Scage, on condition of plowing the lord's land, or doing other offices of husbandry: in *burgage*, when the inhabitants of a borough held their tenements at a certain rent. *Petit-serjeanty* is explained. There was also *grand-serjeanty* of a higher order. But the tenure of *military service*, in an age of chivalry, was deemed the most honourable.

45. " No bailiff, in future, shall put any man to his law
" (his oath,) on his single accusation, without credible
" witnessses produced to prove it."

46. " No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or
" disteifled, (of his rights,) or outlawed, or banished, or any
" ways destroyed, unless by the legal judgment of his peers,
" or by the law of the land."

47. " Right or justice shall be sold to no man, denied to
" no man, or deferred to no man."

48, 49. " All merchants shall have safe-conduet, to go
" out of, and to come into, England, and to stay there,
" and to pass as well by land as by water, to buy and sell,
" without any evil tolls, by the ancient and allowed customs,
" except in time of war, or when they are of any nation
" in war with the king.—And if any such be found in the
" land, in the beginning of a war, they shall be attached
" (apprehended,) without damage to their bodies or goods,
" until it be known how our merchants be treated in the
" nation at war with the king; and if ours be safe there,
" they shall be safe here."

50. " It shall be lawful, in future, for any one to go out
" of the realm, and to return safely and securely, by land
" and water, saving his fealty to the king: (unless in time
" of war, for a short space, on account of the common

BOOK VI. “ benefit of the kingdom), except prisoners and outlaws,
 1215. “ according to the law of the land, and people in war with
 “ the king, and merchants, as just said.”

51. “ If any man holds of an *escheat*, which is a barony,
 “ and in the king’s hands, his heir shall be bound to no
 “ other relief or service, than if the barony had remained
 “ in possession of the baron.”

Escheats were lands or honours, distinguished from the ancient demesnes of the crown, and which had devolved on it by default of heirs, or from crimes, or breach of duty. They were a great source of power and revenue; and the prince was at liberty to retain them in his hands, or to alienate them, by sale or donation, to his friends and servants.

52. “ Men who dwell without the forest, from henceforth shall not come before the justiciaries of the forest upon common summons, unless they be impleaded, or be pledges for any who were attached for something concerning the forest.”

53. “ None shall be made justiciaries, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, but who are knowing in the law of the realm, and are disposed duly to observe it.”

54. “ All barons, who are founders of abbies, and have charters thereof from the kings of England, or an ancient tenure, shall have the custody of them, when void, as they ought to have.”

55, 56. “ All woods that have been afforested, in the time of the king, shall forthwith be disforested, and the like shall be done with the embankments of rivers, of the same date.—All evil customs concerning forests, warrens, “ and

“ and foresters, warreners, sheriffs, and their officers, rivers
 “ and their keepers, shall forthwith be enquired into, and
 “ be utterly abolished.”

57, 58, 59. “ Hostages, which the king had taken from
 “ his English subjects, shall be given up.—Certain families
 “ of foreigners (whose names are mentioned) shall be re-
 “ moved from their employments—And when peace shall
 “ be restored, all foreign soldiers, cross bow-men, and mer-
 “ cenaries, shall be sent away, who came with horses and
 “ arms to the injury of the kingdom.”

60, 61, 62, regard the restitution of lands, castles, or
 rights, which the king had unjustly seized—also the repara-
 tion of injuries, which his father and brother had committed
 —and the disforesting of woods they had inclosed, with a
 general satisfaction for wardships and abbeys, which be-
 longed to the fees of his subjects. A respite for these dis-
 charges is allowed, such as was granted to crusaders.

63. “ No man shall be taken or imprisoned, upon the
 “ appeal of a woman, for the death of any other man than
 “ her husband.”

64. “ All unjust and illegal fines, levied by the king, and
 “ all amerciaments imposed unjustly, shall be entirely
 “ forgiven, or be left to the decision of the twenty-five
 “ barons, hereafter to be appointed for the preservation of
 “ peace.”

“ 65, 66, 67, promise justice to the Welsh for any wrongs
 they had endured—even from his father or brother—and
 the release of their hostages.

68, regards the hostages, and the right and liberties of the
 king of Scotland.

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69. " All the aforesaid customs and liberties, which the
 " king has granted to be holden in his kingdom, as much
 " as it belongs to him towards his people; all his subjects,
 " as well clergy as laity, shall observe, as far as they are
 " concerned, towards their dependents."

This clause is important: and the gradation of feudal dependences required it, whereby each lord stood in the same relation towards his vassals, as did the king towards his barons, or the immediate tenants of the crown. As the system of oppression had been regularly diffused, in the same order, was justice, in future, to be administered.

70. " And whereas, for the honour of God, and the
 " amendment of our kingdom, and for quieting the dis-
 " cord that has arisen between us and our barons, we have
 " granted all the things aforesaid; willing to render them
 " firm and lasting, we do give and grant to them the fol-
 " lowing security:"—It then enacts, that the barons chuse twenty-five of their order, who shall take care to observe, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties thus granted, and by the present charter confirmed. If the king, his justiciary, or officers shall not perform, or shall break through, any of these articles, and the offence be notified to four barons to be chosen out of the twenty-five, they shall repair to the king, or, in his absence, to the justiciary, and laying open the grievance, shall petition for redress without delay; and if it be not redressed, within forty days, from the notification, then shall they lay the cause before the rest of the twenty-five barons; and these, together with the community of the whole kingdom, shall distrain and distress the king all the ways possible, namely,

by

by seizing his castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance be redressed according to their pleasure, saving harmless the person of the king, of the queen, and his children ; and when it is redressed, they shall become obedient as before.

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71, 72. " Any person whatsoever in the kingdom may swear, that he will obey the orders of the twenty-five barons, in the execution of the premises. — And as for those who will not, on their own accord, swear to join them, in distraining and distressing us, we will issue our order to make them take the oath to that effect."

73, 74. " If any one of the twenty-five dies, or quits the kingdom, or is hindered any other way from executing these things ; the rest of the twenty-five shall chuse another, at their discretion, who shall be sworn in like manner. — And in all things that are committed to their charge, if, when they assemble, they shall disagree, or some of them, when summoned, will not, or cannot, come ; whatever the major part of those present shall agree on or enjoin, shall be reputed as firm and valid, as if the twenty-five had given their consent."

75. " And we will not, by ourselves, or others, procure any thing, whereby any of these concessions and liberties be revoked, or lessened ; and if any such thing be obtained, let it be null and void ; neither shall we ever make use of it, either by ourselves, or any other."

76, 77. " And all the ill-will, anger, and malice, arisen between us and our subjects, of the clergy and laity, from the beginning of the dissention, we have fully remitted and forgiven : moreover all trespasses from the sixteenth

" year

" year of our reign. — To this effect, we have given letters
" patent."

78. " Wherefore, we will and firmly enjoin, that the church
" of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom,
" have and hold, all the forefaid liberties, rights, and
" concessions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully
" and wholly, to themselves and their heirs, of us and our
" heirs, in all things and places for ever, as is aforesaid."

79. " It is also sworn, as well on our part, as on the part
" of the barons, that all the things aforesaid shall faithfully
" and sincerely be obſerved."

Given under our hand, &c. °

Such was *Magna Charta*, and such the laws, we may infer, of the Confessor, the renovation of which had been so ardently desired. The concluding articles, which invested the council of twenty-five with the real sovereignty of the realm, may be viewed as an unwarrantable invasion of the prerogative: but the tyrannical and faithless character of John was known, against which some barrier must be raised, or what availed it, to have drawn from his reluctant hand a written charter of liberties? — At the same time was granted a *Charter of Foreſts*, comprised in eighteen articles, each of which tends to prove how great had been the oppression, under pretence of supporting the prerogative of the crown. — The *Charter of Liberties* being signed and sworn to by the king and nobles, the council of twenty-five was chosen. Their names are recorded. These swore, on their souls, to be faithful to the great commission they received; and the assembly promised obedience to them. Writs, under the royal

• Mat. Par. et Mag. chart. ex Autograph. Cot. ap. Rapin.

° Mat. Par.

royal signet, were then sent to the sheriffs of the counties, ordaining that all orders of men observe the laws of the charter; and the compulsory means to be used, should the king recede from his engagements, were universally prescribed. Thus closed the transactions of Runnemede; when the barons departed, some to London, which was still to remain in their power, and the rest to their castles, anxious for the general issue, notwithstanding the precautions they had taken, and the exultation that weak minds felt ^a.

John, with a few followers, spent the night of the conference at Windsor, in gloomy, reposeless agitation; and hither came the men, foreigners mostly without fame or fortune, who had gained his confidence, and whom the fifty-eighth article of the charter proscribed. In taunting irritation they addressed their monarch; laid before him his fallen state; and roused, with ease, the latent spirit of repentance and revenge. In describing the series of this growing passion, the historian portrays the wild deportment of a maniac. But with some composure, he dispatched messengers to such governors of his castles, as were foreigners, and devoted to his cause, commanding them to lay in provisions, to strengthen the walls, to prepare machines, and to hire what mercenary forces could be collected; but let it be done without noise, he added, and with caution, lest the barons be alarmed. The alarm was unavoidable. Himself then, to prepare what schemes of vengeance might please him best, and to indulge, far from the prying eye of curiosity and the vigilance of his enemies, the wayward rancour of his heart, hastily quitted Windsor, and retired, in disguise,

John mediates vengeance, and retires.

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disguise, to the Isle of Wight. And here he soon took the resolution of applying to Rome for the aid of Innocent, and to the neighbouring countries for a supply of mercenary forces. The seventy-fifth article of the charter he as little heeded, as those which gave relief to his vassals. Pandulphus, whom the prospect of some promotion, which should reward his labours, still detained in England, was, with other messengers, sent to Rome; and the bishop of Worcester, who was chancellor, and the courtly bishop of Norwich, with some soldiers of fortune, undertook to raise the necessary supply of men. They sailed to the continent.

The king, with a few companions, remained in the island, waiting, in dark impatience, for the issue of his plans; and sometimes mixing with the fishermen and mariners of the neighbouring ports, he strove by the bold manners of a pirate, to gain the friendship of that hardy race.—What, in the mean time, were the suspectful thoughts of the nobles? The king had disappeared, and fame had not yet disclosed his retreat. But they saw the hostile preparations in his castles, and soon they knew, where he was, and what were the measures he had taken. To relieve the toils of their late attention to business, a tournament had been appointed to be held at Stamford. They now put off its celebration to a more distant day, and named another place, less remote from London. In this city the great body continued: but, from the letters they addressed to the absent barons, their thoughts, it appears, ran more on the approaching tournament, than to provide resistance against the exertions of the enemy^r.

Pandulphus,

^r Mat. Par.

Pandulphus, with the speed of a faithful minister, had hastened to the feet of Innocent. There he exposed the cause of his journey, and implored the pontiff's aid against the barons of England. "They have raised a rebellion in "the land," he said, "and have demanded from their "prince laws and evil liberties, which to grant became "not the royal dignity." The king publicly protested, that "his realm was a fief of the Roman church, and therefore "that, without the knowledge of the pontiff, he was not "free to enact new statutes, or to prejudice in any thing "the rights of his lord. He appealed then, thereby sub-
jecting himself and realm to your protection. This the "barons heeded not: they marched to London, and hav-
ing seized that capital of the empire, hold it still. Then, "in military array repeating their demands, the king sub-
mitted, for he could no longer withstand their violence." So saying, the messengers presented certain heads of the charter, which seemed best to favour the royal cause. Innocent read, and frowning indignantly, exclaimed: "Do "these barons then aim to dethrone a prince, crossed for "the holy land, and protected by the apostolic see? Or "would they transfer our sovereignty to another? By St. "Peter, this outrage shall not go unpunished." He con-
vened the cardinals, and taking their advice, addressed a bull to all the faithful. It is dated from Anagni, August twenty-four^s.

It states that John, though by his crimes he had drawn on himself and kingdom the sentence of excommunication and interdict, had repented, and made satisfaction to the

• Mat. Par.

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church; that he had subjected his realm to the holy see, under an annual tribute, and sworn fealty to it; that he had taken the cross, and was preparing to make war on the infidels; that, in this crisis, the barons of England, instigated by the devil, had rebelled against him; that himself (Innocent) had used every means to restore concord; that the king had been disposed to listen to moderate counsels, and to correct abuses; that he had appealed to Rome; and that the barons, regardless of every duty, had persisted in their measures, and finally compelled their prince to grant them terms, derogatory from the rights and dignity of his crown. It concludes: “ But since it was said to us by the lord, *I appointed thee over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to destroy, to build and to plant;* not willing to dissemble the audacious deed, which brings contempt on the holy see, ruin on the rights of kings, shame on the English nation, and threatens to annul the great concerns of the cross of Christ; we reprobate and condemn the proceeding, forbidding the said king to observe the charter, and the barons to require its execution; and we pronounce it, in all its clauses, null and void, that, at no time, it may have validity.”—Another bull of the same date is addressed to the barons, wherein, having repeated the substance of the first, he commands them, as their spiritual father and suzerain lord, to renounce the charter, and to be reconciled to the king, who may then be disposed to listen to their just petitions, in which himself promises to be their mediator: “ and what shall then be obtained,” he says, “ shall be firm and permanent for ever.” He exhorts them to submit, lest something worse befall them;

and

and to send their proctors to the general council, which was soon to be assembled, surrendering themselves in confidence to his award. "With the blessing of heaven," he concludes, "we will then adopt measures, whereby, ever grievance and abuse being utterly abolished, your king shall be satisfied in his rights, and the clergy and all the people shall enjoy peace and liberty¹."

The representation of facts, which the bulls exhibited, was, in some instances, untrue; in others, overcharged. So it is, when party-views distort the eye of equitable judgment. They were sent to England; on which the barons, regardless of their contents, and well-aware, that further dalliance might bring ruin on their measures, resolved again to take up arms, and to secure the possession of the capital. William de Albiney, a nobleman of great military fame, at the head of a chosen band, entered the castle of Rochester, having been solemnly assured by the confederated barons, before he left London, that, in case of an attack, they would fly to his rescue. The castle, not long before, had been committed by the king to the custody of the primate. It was ill-stored with provisions, and worse with engines of defence: but de Albiney entered, and with him a hundred and twenty knights, with their retainers.

Preparations
for a civil war

John had passed nearly three months in the Isle of Wight, and the time was come for the return of his agents. He failed to Dover, where he had the satisfaction to be informed, that a vast armament was approaching to his assistance. The prospect of sharing the spoils of England, and

¹ Mat. Par.

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the lands and honours of the opulent barons, which the king's emissaries had been empowered to offer, allured thousands to his standard. From Poitou and Gascoigne, came Savaric de Mauleon, and Geoffrey and Oliver de Buteville, brothers, with a formidable troop of knights and armed men : from the side of Brabant, came Walter Buck, Gerard Sottini, and Godeschal, with three legions of heavy-armed soldiers and cross-bowmen : and from Flanders, came a multitude, which is not numbered, men inured to rapine and blood-shed, the outcasts and freebooters of society. These John received exultingly on the beach of Dover. They swore fealty to him, and with them he marched to Rochester. De Albiney had been three days in the castle. The engines of attack were soon brought up, and the savage army encompassed the walls. It was now the end of September.

But hardly had the siege opened, when a furious tempest began to howl, such as, even in the equinoctial season, no man had witnessed ; and in that tempest perished Hugh de Boves, with an army, or rather a colony, of forty thousand souls, whom he had embarked in the port of Calais. He was a bold and experienced adventurer ; but a man of the basest principles, who had long served the king, and on whom, it is said, he had promised to fettle the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. The hand of heaven seemed visible in his overthrow ; but the king wailed his loss, with the frantic effusions of a madman^u. — The castle of Rochester bravely resisted, looking hourly for the promised succours. The barons, indeed, once advanced to its relief ; but with no views, it seemed, of manly resolution ; for, without having

^u Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

having seen the enemy, they returned, to indulge, says the historian, in the excesses of play and prodigality, and the enervating pleasures of the capital. De Albiney then, only reduced by famine, though scarcely a stone was standing round him, with the concurrence of his brave companions, surrendered. The siege had lasted two months. With the ferocity of a monster, John commanded the general and his whole garrison to be hanged ; but William de Maulcon suggesting to him the danger of reprisals, he was contented to butcher the inferior prisoners, while the knights, with de Albiney, were sent to the castles of Corf and Nottingham. The cause of the barons received a mortal wound^v.

While these things were doing, Innocent, in great irritation, that his advice and menaces were disregarded, had excommunicated the barons, committing the execution of the sentence to the bishop of Winchester, the abbot of Reading, and the noted Pandulphus. In a brief written to them, he complains of the primate and his suffragans, who, for not having succoured their king against the rebels, were, with reason, suspected of being accomplices in their guilt. “ Lo ! ” says he, “ how they defend the patrimony of the Roman church ; how they protect the champions of Christ. Aiming to dethrone him, from whose arms the christian cause looked for aid, they are become worse than Saracens. Wherefore, we excommunicate all disturbers of the public peace, with their accomplices and abettors, and we lay their lands under an interdict ; strictly enjoining the primate and his bishops, solemnly to announce this sentence, through the realm of England, and to command

The barons
are excommunicated, and
Langton goes
to Rome.

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" command all subjects to give aid to their sovereign.
 " Should any bishop not comply with this order, he is sus-
 " pended from his functions, and obedience is no longer
 " due to him."

Armed with the powers of Rome, the commissioners waited on the cardinal, who had actually embarked for Italy, to which the meeting of the general council called him. They signified their commission, and, in the pontiff's name, commanded him to execute the sentence, in the manner specified by the brief. He hesitated, and begged a respite, till he should himself have seen his holiness, urging, that the sentence had been surreptitiously obtained. " Truth " has been with-held," he continued; " nor will I pub- " lish the sentence, unless I know more of the pontiff's " will." The commissioners then, without further ceremony, declared him suspended from all the functions of his office; to which Langton tranquilly submitted, and departed for Rome. Their next step was, to pronounce excommunication against such barons, as were in arms; but as the brief did not specify their names, the casuistry of the age taught them to regard the censure, as nugatory and null *.

When the primate arrived in Italy, towards the end of October, he found the prelates of christendom assembling from various nations, with numerous abbots and the heads of religious orders, and the embassadors of princes. Among the latter were three envoys from the king of England, the abbot of Beaulieu and two knights. Before the solemn opening of the council, many private causes were heared in the

* Mat. Par.

the presence of the pontiff; and Langton was cited to appear. His accusers were the agents of the king. They accused him of conspiring with the barons, who, advised and favoured by him, were in arms to dethrone their prince; and they urged that, though commanded by his holiness, as he had recently been, to check the rebellion by excommunicating its leaders, he had disregarded the injunction, and had therefore been suspended. "And in that state of suspension, here he comes to the general council!" they said, and they pressed many other charges. Langton made no reply, and in much confusion, observes the historian, only prayed to be absolved from the censure. "Nor shall that, by St. Peter, come so easily, brother," exclaimed the indignant pontiff, "after the manifold injuries which thou hast thus done to thy king and to the Roman church. The advice of my brethren shall be taken." He conferred with the cardinals, and by their advice confirmed the sentence of suspension, which was immediately notified to the suffragans of his see.—On the same occasion, the election of Simon de Langton, the primate's brother, to the see of York, was voided, a man obviously obnoxious to the king, but endowed with learning and many virtues. "We petition then for Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester," said the canons of York, who were present, "renowned for his singular purity."—"By Saint Peter," replied Innocent, "that is a great virtue; and you shall have him." De Gray was attached to the royal party. But though his holiness could admire his virtue, he did not escape from Rome, without having involved himself in the enormous charge of ten thousand pounds sterling, equal, at this time, to fifty thousand pounds*. The

* Mat. P.R.

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1215.Fourth coun-
cil of Lateran.

The council opened on the eleventh of November. Innocent presided, and addressing himself to the assembly in a sermon of tasteless allegory, professed his willingness, should the synod approve it, to go himself to the princes of Europe, and rouse them, by his entreaties, again to take up arms, and avenge the injured honour of Christ. The land, he had purchased by his death, was possessed by unbelievers.—The decrees of this council are comprised in seventy canons, of which the nine first are chiefly directed against the errors of the Albigenses; and the seventh, teaching “that the body and blood of Christ are truly “present in the eucharist, under the forms of bread and “wine,” uses the word *Transubstantiation*, to express the sacramental change. The thing signified, but not the mystic word, had been before adopted in the canonical language of the church. I find it in writers, who lived anterior to the time.—The synod then proceeds to censure a treatise of the abbot Joachim on the Trinity, the prophet with whom our Richard had been delighted in the island of Sicily; and the opinions of Amauri, a Paris professor.—Then come the decrees against heretics, enacting that they, who are convicted of error, shall be delivered up to the secular power to be punished; that even those suspected of heresy, if they do not clear themselves, shall be excommunicated; that states shall be admonished, and even compelled by censures, to expel all noted heretics from their jurisdiction; that princes or lords, not obeying this admonition, and report being made to the pope, he may declare their vassals absolved from their allegiance, and give up their territories to be conquered and possessed by the orthodox.

orthodox, saving the rights of the suzerain lord, provided he oppose not the execution of the sentence.—The embassadors of the sovereign princes, let it be observed, who were present in the council, reclaimed not against these indecent and arbitrary statutes.—After some regulations concerning the Greeks, who returned to the western communion, and fixing the precedence of the four eastern patriarchs, who, at that time, acknowledged the jurisdiction of Rome, the council goes on to enact canons of general discipline. In them is much good sense; but they shew how undefined were then the limits of the ecclesiastical and civil powers; and they became the basis, on which was raised that general system of church-legislation, which has prevailed to the present day.—After these canons follows a particular decree, which fixes the crusade, and the day of general rendezvous, for the year 1217, and in the kingdom of Sicily.—The cause of the count of Toulouse was then heared, petitioning against the earl of Montfort for the restitution of his territories; but the former was declared for ever excluded from his lands, and the possession of them was confirmed to the conqueror. The sentence of excommunication was then repeated against the English barons and their accomplices, and the council ended. It is deemed the twelfth ecumenical synod.

John, on the return of his agents from Rome, which was soon after the taking of the castle of Rochester, heared with pleasure the success of their embassy. The barons were excommunicated, the primate suspended, the election of his brother annulled, and Walter de Gray raised to the see of

England defolated by the king's forces.

Auct. varii.

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York. He marched his army from Kent to the neighbourhood of St. Alban's. Here, in the convent of the monks, he commanded the letters of suspension against Langton to be publicly read, enjoining them to signify the happy event to all the churches of his realm. Then retiring to the cloister, with his confidential advisers, he arranged the double plan, of annoyance of the barons, and of providing money for the support of his mercenaries. Could the first be well executed, it would itself, he knew, realise the second. It was agreed, therefore, to divide the grand army; and that the king, at the head of one division, should advance into the northern provinces, while the other remained in the vicinity of the capital, to check any attempts of the barons. The nobles of the north had been particularly active in their claims for liberty.

To measure the baleful characters of these two armies, or to exhibit their views, is unnecessary. They were both intent on rapine, both hardened to the cry of distress, both incited to the perpetration of excess, by a cruel and vengeful prince. The name of Salisbury and of other English barons, it gives me pain to see registered with those of Falco without bowels, of Mauleon the bloody, of Walter Buck the murderer, of Sottini the merciless, and of the iron-hearted Godeschal. It was the month of December. The king moved to Dunstable, thence to Northampton, thence, through Leicester, towards Nottingham; and as he advanced, flames, and carnage, and devastation marked his progress. The counties were a scene of horror; and the inhabitants fled, or fell, or were captured, without resistance.—Leaving a sufficient force to awe the Londoners, and

the

the barons who were with them, Salisbury entered Essex, ravaging the county, and that of Middlesex, and Hertford, and Cambridge, and Huntingdon ; when returning with spoils and prisoners, he set fire to the suburbs of the capital, and permitted his men to divide their plunder, and to relate their feats of blood ^{1215.}

The barons, in wild consternation, did not move. But strange it is, that, preadvised as they were, and united with the nation in their general views, they had concerted no plan of resistance, raised no armies, strengthened no castles. The infatuation was incredible. Cooped up within the walls of London, or insulted in their castles, or at the head of a few retainers in the remote provinces, they heared of the disasters which fell on their friends, and the setting sun of each day announced the nearer approach of ruin on themselves. In unmanly wailings or the composure of affected resignation, they bore their fate, upbraiding their prince with perjury, and the pontiff with the basest sacrifice of character. " Such," they exclaimed, " are the achievements of the beloved son of our holy father ! "

Christmas came, whilst John was at Nottingham ; nor could that awful solemnity, with its ceremonies and impressive lessons, still the raging tumult of his mind, or call back one generous or gentle feeling. As the piercing blast blew, the tempest of his soul could best sympathise with it ; and though the earth was deeply covered with snow, he departed, raging onward, through the northern counties. Every hamlet, which was not his immediate property, he viewed as hostile to his interest ; and it felt his fury, as did

1216.

² Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

the castles, the houses, the parks, of their more noble occupiers. The description, which the historian gives, of villages, towns, and castles reduced to ashes, of the consternation of the inhabitants, of the bloody executions, and of the tortures exercised by the soldiery, to draw from the sufferers the revealment of their supposed treasures, far exceeds belief, and seems rather the laboured offspring of an irritated imagination. He passed the Scottish borders; and then returned more by the western line, every where rewarding his soldiers with plunder, and presenting his generals with the castles and domains of the vanquished and flying nobles. — Where the king was not, the like scenes were perpetrated; and the contest seemed to be, who should injure the wretched people most, and spread the flames of desolation widest^a.

The barons
excommunicated by name

Nor had the inflexible Innocent receded from his purpose. Hearing that the barons disregarded his sentence, though the same messenger, doubtless, carried the news of the savage vengeance of the king and the miseries of the people, he directed another brief to the abbot of Abingdon and two other ecclesiastics, in which he repeats the former sentence, and commands them again to announce it to the nation. He names the citizens of London, who had been principally active, and Robert Fitzwalter, the general of the confederacy, and twenty-five barons, with their aiders and accomplices. — The agents receiving the mandate did not delay its execution, and addressed letters to all the chutches of the realm. They repeated the words of the brief, adding the names of thirty other noblemen, on whom

^a Mat. Par. an. 1216. Chron. de Mailros.

whom should fall the papal anathema, and on their lands an interdict. The sentence, therefore, was soon promulgated, and there appeared a general disposition to submit. Only the Londoners had the good sense to oppose the arbitrary measure; and they maintained that, neither ought the barons to observe, nor the prelates to publish, a censure so incongruous. "It was obtained," they insisted, "by false suggestions, and was consequently null; from this reason principally, that it belongs not to the pope to interfere in state concerns. God gave to Peter and his successors the administration only of the church. Why then shall Roman ambition extend itself to us? Does the war, in which we are engaged, challenge their concern? These pontiffs, truly, are the successors of Constantine, and not of Peter, to whom, nor in deserts nor actions, do they bear resemblance. And the world then shall be ruled by censures!" So, with a just discrimination, they murmured; and in despite of the interdict, the bells rang through the city, and the churches resounded with songs of unusual festivity^b.

But the barons, whom a timely sense of impending ruin had not roused from their supineness, now beheld the desperate extremity, in which must soon be involved all their liberties, their properties, and perhaps their lives. The sentence just pronounced must sever from them, they saw, the few vassals, who could yet support their expiring interest; while the royal party, it was evident, acquired, by their impetuous movements, an increasing power to complete the defolating plan they had projected. The king-

Prince Louis
is invited over

^b Mat. Par.

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kingdom lay at their mercy. Anxious what measure to adopt, they proposed many. They hesitated, debated, and finally resolved to implore the aid of Louis, the eldest son of the French king. To him they would offer the crown of England: for he could best protect them against the fury of the tyrant John; and he was allied by his wife, the daughter of the queen of Castille, to the royal house of Plantagenet. Should he land amongst them, it would be a means also, they doubted not, of drawing from the king's standard many of the mercenary bands, who being levied in Flanders or the provinces of France, would refuse to serve against the heir of their monarchy. Deprived of auxiliaries, whose arms they had so fatally experienced, their own prince, they flattered themselves, would be induced to listen to reason, should it be deemed expedient by the nation not finally to confirm the sceptre to Louis, which it was their present design to offer to him. In the main plan they all agreed: and Saher earl of Winchester, and Robert Fitzwater were appointed to the great embassy. They bore letters with them, signed with all the names of the confederated nobles^c.

With hasty dispatch, the negotiators crossed the sea, and appearing in the French court, laid before Philip and the prince, the weighty object of their embassy. The monarch heared their proposals; read the letters they presented; and after mature reflection, replied with this cool reserve: “ I cannot permit my son to go, unless, for greater security, at least four and twenty hostages be sent to me, from the noblest families of your realm.”—The embassadors

^c Mat. Par. Annal. Waver. Chron. Walt. Heming.

dors did not oppose the cautious resolution ; and immediate notice being sent to the barons, they consented, and commanded their hostages to fail. Their arrival in France gave confidence to the measure, and Compiegne being assigned for their place of residence, Louis, with an alacrity inspired by the great occasion, opened his preparations. He was in his nine and twentieth year, and had lately returned from an expedition of forty days, against the heretics of the south. But as the present undertaking demanded many previous arrangements, which precipitancy might frustrate, he deemed it expedient to send before him a reinforcement of men, whose presence might animate the confederates, and fix their resolution. At their head were ten experienced chieftains. They embarked, and entering the Thames, were received into London by the barons, towards the close of February.

The agents of Innocent were not insensible to the insulting measure. Again they repeated their anathemas, and by name, involved in the censure the French troops, who, in contempt of the papal injunction, had dared to succour the enemies of the king.—But soon also letters came from the prince, addressed to the barons and the citizens of London. In them he assures his friends, that, when Easter comes, they shall hear of him from Calais, ready to sail to their relief. He exhorts them to persevere with the firmness, they had till now exhibited, and requests that they will listen to what they may hear from him, and not to the representations or vain rumours of designing men.

But though the weightiest concerns, which could occupy man, now called for immediate attention, the barons would
not

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not forego the occasion, of appearing before their new friends, with the gallant pageantry of the age. They appointed a tournament, without the walls of London. Here they met on horseback, with the accustomed arms and armour, and having spent some hours in the martial exercise, Geoffry de Mandeville, earl of Essex, was mortally wounded by a French knight. His death, which soon followed, was much lamented; but it did not excite animosity, and with his expiring breath he forgave his antagonist.^d

A Roman legate obstructs his design.

The preparations of the French prince were in forwardness, when a legate from Rome arrived at Lions, in which city the court was. He presented his letters, and in his master's name, entreated Philip not to permit his son to invade England, or in any thing to molest its sovereign: "Protect him rather," he continued, "as the vassal of the Roman church, defend him, and love him; for his realm appertains to our sovereign lord."—"That realm," replied the monarch indignantly, "was never the patrimony of Peter; nor ever shall be. The present occupier of the throne, John, many years ago, plotting against his brother's crown, was accused of treason, and convicted: therefore, he had no right to reign. Had it been otherwise; he afterwards forfeited his crown, by the murder of Arthur, of which crime he was found guilty in my court. Moreover, where is the prince that can give away his realm, without the consent of his barons, whose duty it is to protect the state? And if the pontiff has resolved to support this error, he holds out a pernicious example to all the nations of the earth."

—“ We

^d Mat. Par.

— “ We will die in defence of that maxim,” exclaimed BOOK VI.
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with one voice the nobles of the court ; “ that no poten-
“ tate, by his own act, can give away a kingdom, or make
“ it tributary to another, and thus enslave its nobles.”

On the following day, was another meeting, to which the prince came ; and with a lowering eye having viewed the legate, he took his seat near his father. Gallo (that was the legate's name) first addressed the prince, earnestly begging him not to attack the patrimony of the church ; and then turning to Philip, he repeated the request of the preceding day. — “ Hitherto,” replied the king, “ faithful as I have been to the pontiff and the Roman church, I have ever promoted his interest. Nor now, with my advice or aid, shall my son attempt any thing against either. But if he claims any right to the realm of England, let that claim be hearded, and justice be awarded to him.” On this a knight, whom Louis had charged with the commission, rose, and spoke.—He observed that John, for the assassination of his nephew, had been sentenced to death, by his peers in the French court ; and that the barons of England, on account of his multiplied crimes, had deemed him unworthy of the throne ; and had levied war against him : that having subjected his kingdom to Rome, under an annual tribute, without the consent of his nobles, he had deposed himself : he ceased, therefore, to be king, and the throne was vacant. Then did the barons, he continued, exercise their right. They elected the son of our king, in right of his wife, whose mother, the queen of Castille, alone survives of all the female issue of the late Henry Plantagenet.

• Mat. Par.

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Confounded by the bold misstatement of facts and the hollow reasoning, the legate urged; that John, at least, had taken the holy cross, and therefore, as the great council had lately decreed, he was not to be molested, during the space of four years; and that all his possessions were within the protection of the apostolic see. — The knight answered: That, before that event, the English king had made war on the prince, and invaded and spoiled his domain in Flanders; and that even now he was in arms against him.—“Under pain of excommunication,” exclaimed the legate, when he saw that argument would not silence the wordy orator, “I forbid the prince to enter England, and “his royal father to permit it.”—The prince turned to his father: “For the possessions, Sir,” said he, “which I have “received from your hand, I acknowledge myself your “liege vassal: but the realm of England is not one of “them, and I challenge the judgment of my peers, whe- “ther it appertains to you to obstruct the prosecution of “my right, when it is not within the competence of your “majesty to do my justice. Oppose not my design; for, “shall it appear necessary, I will support to death my “wife’s claim to her inheritance.” So saying, the prince, with his followers, withdrew; and Gallo, meaning to embark for England, requested a safe-conduct to the sea’s side. “Through my own territory,” replied Philip, “you shall have it: but take care how you “set your foot on my son’s lands.” The legate retired in anger^f.

In

^f Mat. Par.

In a few days, the prince again waited on his father: "I have solemnly promised the English barons," said he to him, "to carry them assistance; and rather than forfeit my honour, I am disposed to undergo the censures of the pontiff." Philip could no longer withstand the just entreaty. He consented; but in a manner that might seem reluctant; and blessed his son. The fear of the indignation of Rome had awed the high spirit of the monarch; and even Louis deemed it prudent, notwithstanding the firm language he had held, to dispatch messengers to Innocent, who should lay before him the equity of his claim to the English throne. Then at the head of an army, numerous and well-appointed, he marched to Calais, and embarking on board six hundred ships and fourscore other vessels, which the monk Eustach had prepared, he came to land in the isle of Thanet, on the twenty-first of May.

John, with all his forces, was at Dover. But he dared not meet the invader, conscious of the uncertain attachment of his mercenary bands: he retired, therefore, by precipitate marches, first to Guildford, and then to Winchester. The prince proceeded to Sandwich, and the whole province, as he advanced towards London, with the castle of Rochester, submitted to him. Only Dover, which he left behind him, remained in the hands of Hubert de Burgh. The acclamations, with which he entered the capital, were unbounded, the citizens and barons vieing in their expressions of joy. Here he received their homage, and the allegiance which they swore to him; while himself, with his hand on the gospels, at the same time, also swore, to restore to all orders their good laws, and to each indivi-

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dual the possessions he had lost. — It is remarkable, that the barons should have been satisfied with the vague expression of *good laws*, and that their *Great Charter* was not mentioned. — Louis then published a manifesto, addressed to the king of Scotland, and the absent nobles, commanding them immediately to swear fealty to him, or to retire from the realm; and he marched his army into the neighbouring counties, which submitted. The manifesto had the wished-for effect; for many (among whom was the earl of Salisbury, who had joined the king in his late excesses,) now left him, under the immediate impression, that fortune had chosen a new favourite, and that already he was in possession of the throne^a.

His next step was, to appoint Simon Langton his chancellor, whose influence became highly serviceable to his cause; for he confirmed the Londoners and the barons in their contemptuous neglect of the interdict, and persuaded Louis himself, a prince of a religious character, that it merited no respect.—The opening of this great revolution was uncommonly auspicious: but it must have seemed somewhat singular, considering the imposing consequence which has been ascribed to the ceremony, that the prince was not crowned, while the tide of popular favour ran so high.—The primate, whilst his brother thus came forward on the scene, continued at Rome, released, indeed, from the sentence of suspension, on condition that he returned not to England, till its troubles should be ended^b.

But the legate was not idle. He came to England soon after the prince, and immediately repairing to Gloucester, whither

whither John had now retired, he offered him his warmest support, against the successful progress of the enemy. The monarch was over-joyed, presuming, from passed experience, that the arms of Rome could give vigour to his cause. Gallo summoned all the prelates and clergy, who would obey the mandate, to meet him; and having excommunicated, by name, with the usual rites of terror, the French prince and all his adherents, at the head of whom he placed Simon de Langton, he commanded them, on every sabbath and festival-day, publicly to repeat the sentence. But when the menaces of power and its exertions, have once ceased to operate on the minds of the multitude, it is long before they again recover their wonted vigour. The anathemas of the pontiff, therefore, fell in vain; and de Langton publicly declared that, in the cause of the prince, an appeal had been made to Rome, and that the acts of her agents were an impotent abuse. Even a more ominous circumstance confounded the wavering counsels of John. The mercenaries, as had been hoped, insensibly quitted his standard, the troops from Aquitaine alone remaining faithful, and of these even some joined the prince, and others returned home.—Nor was it long before all the southern provinces submitted to Louis. The castles only of Windsor and Dover, lowering defiance, shewed a disposition to resist; and the king gave orders to furnish the eastern castles with men, arms, and provisionsⁱ.

Meanwhile, the cause of Louis was agitated in the Roman court. His agents presented themselves before the pontiff, who eyed them with an austere look, and saluted him

His cause is
agitated at
Rome.

ⁱ Mat. Par.

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him in their master's name. "Your master," he replied, "deserves not my salutation."—"Your holiness," answered one of the agents, "would think otherwise, were his cause fully expounded." Here ended the first day's interview. But when, a second time, they were sent for, and had opened their commission; Innocent, at large, entered on the question, and with the acuteness of a profound civilian, the science he eminently possessed, refuted their various arguments. Then striking his breast, with much agitation, he proceeded: "But the church, alas! cannot here escape confusion. If the English king falls, who is our vassal, and whom, as such, it is our duty to defend, shame must redound on us: and if the prince be conquered, which God forbid! the Roman church must suffer in his ruin; for to him we have looked, as to a certain refuge, whenever distress shall fall on our see."—The conference here ended, and the agents waited the final decision of the controversy.

It is not necessary to detail the arguments, which were urged on both sides, and which the historian has minutely stated. They are comprised in three leading propositions, the heads of which I have already mentioned.—The first charge is; That John had murdered his nephew Arthur, for which crime he had been condemned to death, the agents said, by his peers in the French court.—It was replied, that John was a king, and, as such, being superior to the barons, he was not their peer; besides, that it was contrary to the laws and the canons to condemn any person, unheared and unconvicted.—The agents observed that, though a king, John was an earl and duke, and therefore

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the liege vassal, under this denomination, of Philip, whose jurisdiction over him was complete. Even had he not been his vassal, and such a crime had been committed in France, the laws of the realm subjected the offender to the judgment of his peers. — Many princes and even kings of France, it was said in reply, had taken away the lives of innocent men, yet had they not been sentenced to death. But Arthur was not innocent; he was taken in arms against his uncle and liege sovereign, and could therefore lawfully, even without judgment, have been condemned to die.

Secondly: — To the argument in favour of the claim of Louis, as husband to Blanche of Castille, it was said, that, granting John, by the sentence of the French nobles, had been legally disinherited, that not she, but the offspring of the elder children of Henry, that is, the sister of Arthur, or the emperor Otho, had a juster claim to the English throne. Blanche even had a brother, the present king of Castille. — The agents answered, that as Geoffry, duke of Bretagne was dead, as also the duchess of Saxony, when the sentence was pronounced on John, their issue could pretend no claim to a succession, that otherwise might have devolved on them. This, they insisted, was a received maxim. But the queen of Castille was then living, to whom the legal succession first belonged, and on her death, it descended to her daughter Blanche. It is true, they proceeded, that Blanche has a brother, and even an elder sister; but where there are many heirs, any one of them may seize the inheritance, saving the rights of the other claimants. The prince has entered England; but if a nearer heir to the throne challenges his right, justice will be done to him.

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Thirdly:

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Thirdly :—It was objected to the prince, that England belonged to the holy see, by reason of the oath of fealty taken to the pontiff, and of the tribute annually paid ; war therefore was not to be made on the sovereign rights of him, who had been guilty of no crime, and particularly as John possessed other dominions, which Louis might have attacked ; complaints rather should have been preferred against the vassal, in the court of his sovereign lord.—Hostilities, they replied, had been commenced, before that transfer of the kingdom ; and it is a maxim, that the vassal, who provokes a quarrel, may be attacked in person, without the ceremony of a previous complaint. But if the lord will protect his vassal, he makes the war his own.—As to the decree of the council, ordaining a general truce for four years, and the circumstance of John's having taken the cross, it was likewise insisted, that hostilities had preceded those events, to which the king had pertinaciously adhered.—But the barons, it was objected, and their abettors, had been excommunicated even by the advice of the council, and the prince, therefore, was involved in the sentence. — “ Our prince,” replied the agents, “ does not aid the barons, nor is he “ their abettor : he prosecutes his right. He does not, nor “ ought he to believe, that the pontiff, or so great a synod, “ would pronounce an unjust sentence. At that time, it “ was not known, that he claimed, as his right, the English “ throne. And had it been known, the prince presumes, “ that the council could not annul his right.”

Thus was a question debated, which throws some light on the manners and feudal laws of the age ; when the pontiff, in the plenitude of his jurisdiction, pronounced, that

that the controversy should not be decided, before the return of his legate^k. BOOK VI.
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But Louis, (to whom the call of the barons, to rescue their country from the oppression of a tyrant, gave a better title, than what a pretended hereditary right, or the approbation of Rome could confer,) in the mean time, neglected not the obvious means of conquest. He spoiled the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and reduced them to his obedience; while that of Lincoln also submitted; and in the north, his adherents subdued Yorkshire, and the Scottish king, Northumberland.—The experienced Philip, notwithstanding this success which attended his son's arms, heared, with regret, that he had left behind him the castles of Dover and Windsor, on the reduction of which, he knew, more must depend, than on the easy subjugation of many provinces. He acquainted him, therefore, that the castles must be reduced, alledging, that the first rules of war required it. Louis, obedient to his instruction, having sent to him for *malveifine*, a huge engine to throw stones, at the head of a great army, surrounded the castle of Dover. This was in the month of August. Hubert de Burgh, it has been said, commanded there, and he was well supported by a band of knights and their retainers. The utmost efforts of the enemy made no impression: on the contrary, their tents, their machines, and their men were destroyed by furious and repeated fallies. Hopeless of immediate success, the prince withdrew his army to a greater distance; and continuing the blockade, he swore not to raise the siege, till famine had reduced the proud walls,

He pursues
his conquest,
and lays siege
to the castles
of Dover and
Windsor.

^k Mat. Par.

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when the whole garrison, he threatened, should be hanged up in his presence.—At the same time, the barons with an army marched into the eastern counties, which having desolated, they returned to London, and collecting a great force, proceeded against the castle of Windsor. Ingelard de Achie, an approved soldier, was the governor. Alike to that of Dover, was the bold resistance of this castle; nor were the besiegers more successful¹.

John takes
the field.

John, who till now had not ventured to take the field, seeing that the enemy was engaged, issued, with resistless rage, from the city of Winchester. Some troops, from other castles, had joined him; and many desperate men still adhered to his cause. What the utmost fury, with fire and sword, could perpetrate, that was done. The houses and lands of the neighbouring barons first suffered; and he proceeded, like a blasting tempest, and entered the eastern counties.—With dismay did the barons, round Windsor, hear the report of this exterminating havoc, and assembling, they resolved to raise the siege, and to impede, if possible, the tyrant's return to the south. The historian talks of treachery, inspired by royal bribes, which prompted this design. The king was in Suffolk, wasting all its maritime district, and intent on spoil, when he heared that the Windsor army was in motion. They left their tents, and moved rapidly towards the side of Cambridge. But John by his spies, knew their line of march; and while they imagined, the game could not escape their toils, he had wheeled round, and gained the town of Stamford. He advanced still northward; and forcing the enemy from Lincoln,

¹ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

Lincoln, entered its castle, the confederates every where flying, with the timidity of hares, from his impetuous approach. The barons, thus illuded, wreaked their vengeance on the innocuous people, and returning with spoil, passed through the capital, and joined the prince's army near the walls of Dover. To this place also came Alexander, the Scottish king, and did homage in the hands of Louis, for the fiefs he held under the crown of England^m.

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Such was the position of things and their dubious aspect, when an event happened, or was said to happen, which cast a gloom over the counsels of the allies, and generating mutual distrust, served to confirm the lightest suspicions, which, till now, either ill-humour, or the necessary character of events, had formed. The viscount de Melun, a nobleman who had come with the prince, being seized by a mortal distemper in London, requested, that such of the English barons, as remained there for the defence of the city, might be sent for. They came. With a dying voice he then addressed them. “The desolation and ruin, which hang over you, give me pain,” he said; “and you know not what the danger is. The prince, and sixteen nobles of his army, have bound themselves by oath, shall the realm be conquered and he be crowned its king, to banish for ever those, who have joined his standard, as traitors to their sovereign. Their whole offspring shall be exterminated. Doubt not my words; for I, who here lie gasping before you, am one of the conspirators. I intreat you, therefore, to provide, in future, for your own safety, and not to reveal what you have heared.” So saying, he expiredⁿ.

Perplexity of
the barons.

^m Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

ⁿ Mat. Par. Chron. Wal. Heming.

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That so foul a design should have been formed, in this early stage of the revolution, and in the presence of sixteen witnesses, exceeds all belief. But though the tale was obviously invented, it was not less successful: the secret whisper passed, and the minds of the barons received its baleful impression. The prince already had bestowed lands and castles on his foreigners; and themselves had murmured at the partial distribution in vain. His views they could now see through; and the plot of destruction began to open. Even he had called them traitors, (so said the dying viscount,) when they were bleeding in his cause.—Thus they reasoned, actuated by suspicious and loose surmises, while the most trivial events, on which jealousy could fasten, did but confirm the evil, and spread it more. The destruction also of their lands and houses; the dispersion and misery of their families; the further ruin, which might fall on them, from their enraged, and yet unconquered, sovereign; the sentence of excommunication which pressed on their souls, and that of interdict on their vassals and possessions; all, at once, conspired to thicken the gloom, and to perplex their wayward counsels. It was the wish of some, to return to their allegiance; others, in dubious anxiety, suspended all resolution; while many seemed disposed, patiently to wait the uncertain issue of events. But all knew the cruel and revengeful temper of the king, whom none might venture to trust, and whose indignation, now justly moved, could almost be vindicated in its worst excesses.

The king falls sick, and dies.

Agitated by passion, restless through fear, and suspicious even of those, whom he called his friends, John, meanwhile, had moved from place to place. He had been on

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the Welsh borders, wasting, as he went, the whole face of the land and the dwellings of the nobles ; and now again he turned eastward, through the counties of Worcester and Northampton. He was surrounded by his mercenaries and other troops, an army bent on blood and rapine, and he carried with him, in many carts and on horses, his treasures, all his valuable plate, and the regal ornaments, on which, with the propensities of a little mind, his affections seemed to rest. Whether it was his intention to lodge these in a place of safety, does not appear. Through Peterborough he entered the district of Croyland, famous for its monastery, which he plundered, and having burned the stacks of corn, and ravaged the lands of the abbey, he continued his course through Holland into Norfolk. The inhabitants of Lynn received him with much loyalty ; and here he formed the design of crossing the Wash, which parts the two counties, and of penetrating more to the north of Lincolnshire. When the water ebbs, this estuary is passable. With his army and rich baggage, John began his march over the fands ; and he had nearly reached the opposite point, when the returning tide began to roar, and its swelling waves to press forward on the land. It was a moment of extreme peril. The army, with great rapidity, advanced, and escaped on the side of Fosse-dike ; but turning, they beheld the carriages and sumpter horses overtaken by the waters. The surge dashed furiously on them ; and soon they disappeared.—In silence, which oaths and execrations only interrupted, the troops, with their king, proceeded, and arrived, on the same night, at the Cistercian abbey of Swineshead^o.

Vex-

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Vexation at a loss, which in the present circumstances was irretrievable, and the boisterous agitation of contending passions, which reason nor religion had ever checked, now produced in the king the alarming symptoms of disorder; and a fever ensued. Yet prompted by hunger, or rather by a gluttonous habit, he ate voraciously of some peaches, which the hospitable monks served up, and drank new cider as immoderately. The intemperate excess added to the growing evil. In remorseless horror the night passed: but, early on the morrow, he rose, and mounting his horse, seemed willing to conceal from observation the pain he suffered, or by exercise to disperse it. Soon, however, he was compelled to dismount; when entering a litter, he was carried to the castle of Sleaford: and though his disorder, in the night he spent here, was much increased, he proceeded the next day, and with difficulty reached the town of Newark. Here was his life to close.

To make some preparation, if it might be permitted, for eternity, and to settle the succession of his crown, became his only care. The abbot of Croxton, a neighbouring convent, a man well skilled in medicine, and who attended the dying monarch, officiated also, as the minister of religion, in the last sad scenes of remorse and penitence. To his house he left some valuable estates, vainly confiding, that the opulent donation would serve to atone for a life of crimes. He then named his eldest son Henry, his successor, and begged that homage might be done to him. Letters also, under his seal, were directed to all the sheriffs of counties and the governors of castles, commanding them to bear in mind the duty, which they owed to the prince. Now he

was

was informed, that messengers were arrived from some of the barons, about forty in number, with proposals of returning to their allegiance. The momentary gleem cheered his soul: but all his strength was spent, and attention languished. “Where” said the abbot of Croxton, “does your majesty chuse to be buried?”—“To God,” replied the king, “and to St. Wulstan, I commend my soul and body.”—Soon after this he expired.^p

On the eighteenth of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign, thus died John, the worst of English kings. His body, agreeably to his last request, was conveyed to Worcester, and there interred. St. Wulstan was the patron saint of the cathedral.—By Isabella of Angouleme, his last queen, he left two sons and three daughters. Of virtues John possessed not the weakest semblance; and all his vices were such, as most vilify and degrade the nature of man, in their immediate effects ruinous to himself, and destructive to his people. A transient review of the events, I have described, will sufficiently justify the general assertion, and prove the judgment of the old historian^q to have been led by no undue bias, when he heaped infamy on his name. I shall dwell no longer on it.

At the time this inglorious monarch died, some changes, which I have not noticed, had taken place on the continent. Rome had a new sovereign. Engaged as he had ever been in politics, Innocent pursued unremittingly his favourite scheme, of carrying aid to the eastern christians. The unsettled state of Germany impeded his design, and the ambitious views of Philip. He laboured to establish a general

^p Mat. Par. Mat. West.

^q Mat. Par.

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general peace. But when he heared, notwithstanding his remonstrances, that the French prince did not desist from his undertaking, his zeal kindled, and preaching before the people at Perugia, from the text of Ezekiel, *Let the sword, the sword, be unsheathed*, he fulminated anathemas against Louis and his abettors. Nor did his indignation rest here. He prepared to pursue the severest measures, against Philip and his realm. But a fever surprised him in his career of vengeance. His constitution, which incessant labour and the agitation of great passions had undermined, sank before it, and he died on the sixteenth of July^r.

Innocent had virtues. He was learned, magnificent, perseverant, wise. In the knowledge of laws and politics he had no equal: he possessed the art of government; and he was obeyed, more from fear than love. Ambition was his ruling passion, to gratify which, he overstepped the bounds of decency and justice, playing as wantonly with the solemn censures of the church, as if they had been instituted, for the common purposes of wayward caprice or resentful vengeance. To look into him for the amiable virtues of life, or for those, which should form the pastoral character, would be loss of time. The prerogative of the holy see, built up in adulation and misjudging zeal, filled his mind: its aggrandisement he sought, sometimes, perhaps, from motives which the cool reasoner may excuse: and the meteor of universal empire gleaming on his senses, did not permit the operations of a dispassionate and unbiased judgment. No tears were shed when Innocent fell, but those which religion wept, too justly pained by the inordinate

^r Rigord. Murat. an. 1216.

nate exertions and worldly views of her first minister. The BOOK VI.
116. maxims of the age, however, must not be forgotten. They will throw some veil over the failings of Innocent; will extenuate the intemperance of his measures; and blunt the edge of censure. He was succeeded by Honorius III.

In Germany, the fortune of young Frederic kept the ascendancy it had acquired, advancing by sure steps to the meridian of greatness. As he owed much to the fostering care and superior influence of his guardian, the Roman bishop, it might be expected, that a grateful return would be demanded from him. It was demanded; and promises and engagements were liberally made. But Innocent still held back the imperial crown. His fear was, as I have observed, that Sicily and the empire should be held by the same person. To lull these suspicious apprehensions, Frederic now took the cross; and proclaiming his son Henry King of Sicily, he assured the pontiff, that its government, with the ancient dependences of feudal vassalage on the Roman see, should be conferred on him, the moment himself obtained the imperial diadem. Otho was still living in the retirement of Brunswick; and it was well known, that the arm, which had cast him from his throne, could, with ease, again call round him all the dangerous powers of a rival. This Frederic knew, and it disposed him to manage, by concessions and an apparent subserviency, the irritable and vindictive temper of Innocent. His timely removal made way for other politics and other plans. Rome, in the person of Frederic, had nurtured a prince, who, when time should develope his character, would exhibit, in her regard,

BOOK VI. those stern features of independent sufficiency, which his grandfather Barbarossa bore^s.

^{1216.} The Italian states maintained their liberty: but the dissensions, which jealousy created and kept alive, had a permanent tendency to weaken the confederacy, and to make them a prey to internal strife, provoking foreign invasion. The Milanese had not yet forsaken the fallen cause of Otho. But it was the faction of the Guelfs and Ghibellins, daily gaining strength from fresh irritation, that prepared the way for dreadful evils^t.

The state of France it is unnecessary to exhibit. Having annexed to his crown the noble provinces, which once were England's, and Artois on the side of Flanders, Philip Augustus, in the plenitude of years and power, looked eagerly to the conquest of another empire. But they were the menaces of Rome, it appears, which checked even the ambition of Philip; otherwise his reluctant compliance with the wishes of the English barons, and the feeble support he gave to his son, will not be reconciled with his character and the general policy of his government. Had he exerted the resources of his nation, to which, from foreign enemies or internal commotions, there was no impediment, it cannot be doubted, but complete success would have crowned his arms, and England, for a time at least, had been a province of France. The power of the pontiff averted the blow; while the chains of vassalage, in which he held us, were but a nominal evil we could cast off at pleasure. That Philip should have left unconquered the extensive province of Aquitaine, may to some appear

appear extraordinary. It was owing, I think, to the dispositions of the nobles of the country, who then were, and continued long to be, averse from the government of the French crown. But it is wonderful with what alacrity, Normandy, in particular, embraced the sovereignty of the victor^u.

Ireland, at this time, though John, as has been noticed, had, in his last expedition, established a form of legal government, was returned to anarchy and disorders, the obvious consequences of the temper of the natives, and the oppressive views of the new settlers. When the Great Charter was obtained from the king, no requisitions were made in behalf of Ireland: yet the archbishop of Dublin was present, and his name is recorded in the preamble to the deed. As yet no advantage had been derived to that nation, to counterbalance the loss of independence, from the superior character and constitution, as even then they were esteemed, of their ambitious and haughty conquerors.

In Scotland, Alexander II. a youth of sixteen years, but blessed with great abilities and uncommon prudence, had succeeded to his father, William the Lion, whose name has been so often mentioned. He sided with the English nobles, and did homage to the French prince, not for the kingdom of Scotland, which, by the wanton concessions of Richard, had recovered its independence, but for Northumberland, which he held under the English crown.

On Wales our historians are silent. Its princes had long enjoyed an honourable dependence; and as peace dwelt on her borders, while England felt the horrors of intestine

^u Hist. var.

war, the hardy race lay secure on their mountains, and listened to the songs of their bards.

England, of all the states I have enumerated, saw before her the most uncertain and gloomy prospect. The Charter of Liberties, to obtain which she had nobly struggled, as yet was without effect ; and did she know, what scheme of councils or series of events, would best secure its execution ? Perhaps the same steps, which, with irksome toil, she had trodden, must again be measured. A foreign prince, with a powerful army, she had called into her bowels ; while that prince's father, the greatest monarch of the age, was at hand with all the resources of his realm. Should the nation, which, in the obvious course of things, must be, submit to their controul ; where then would be her rights and liberties, under the resistless claim of conquest ? Her late king had left an infant son. If she carried her allegiance to him ; could he protect her ? Or would it be politic to acknowledge him for her sovereign, in whose veins was the blood of a tyrant ; and who, when years should give him strength, would be most inclined to retaliate on her, the usage his parent had experienced ? So lowered the scene before the barons and the English people.

Conclusion.

I have finished the period of sixty-two years, which measured the reigns of Henry II. and of Richard and John, his sons, a term, in the retrospective view, of short duration, but filled with events, and marked by characters.—In Henry we beheld a prince of great and splendid talents, early tutored in the school of adverse fortune, and raised, by his own prowess, to a mighty empire. The outsetting of his reign was prosperous ; but an unfortunate contest with

the

the church ensued, in which no glory could be gained, and which brought to nearer view a degrading series of affections and conduct, which, in other circumstances, might never have been exhibited. The close of it, we saw, was most unhappy; and it raised the indignation of christendom. But the submission of Ireland relieved the gloomy aspect, which the rebellion of his sons again obscured; and in various occurrences, which too often tended to diminish the lustre of his early days, the eventful period of Henry's reign hastened to its melancholy issue. Within himself, it seemed, lay the source of every evil. For a more guarded temper would have reconciled him to the church, at that time, too dangerous a power to contend with; and more attention to Eleanor, his queen, would have chained her ardent spirit, and have secured the obedience, at least, of his children.— The men, who served near his person, or whom he employed in the concerns of state, were eminent, and well chosen. I brought them into view. Becket, of all others, from a certain similarity of character, was best qualified to have possessed his confidence; and together they had been an overmatch for secret machinations, or the bold designs of public enemies. But the very circumstance of similarity of dispositions was the cause of their disunion, and led to contests. The possession of a friend has seldom fallen to the lot of princes. — The concomitant characters of Henry's reign were, in France, Louis, weak, honest, and brave; in Germany, Frederic, bold, impetuous, and enterprising; in Italy, Alexander, whose virtues and unambitious views, in a better age, had dignified the tiara. And round these princes we saw collected many distinguished personages; and the

BOOK VI.

1216.

the events of their days were striking, in the exile of the Roman pontiff, in the successful struggles of the Lombards, and in the preparations for the third crusade.

The reign of Richard, opening with improvident and arbitrary measures, and throughout disfigured by discontents at home, and abroad by a lavish waste of men and treasure in the wild wars of Palestine, had nothing to engage the attention of the philosophic historian. Only that the errors of the human mind, if duly contemplated, may become a source of as much instruction, as its most steady adhesions to truth and equity. We pitied him in his captivity; but the heavy charge, which fell on an exhausted people, to ransom the worthless prisoner, soon stifled that pleasing emotion; and no event succeeded to prepare the mind for compassion, when his untimely death came on.—His ministers and the great personages of the realm deserved little praise. The truth, however, is, that the writers of the times were so engaged in relating the feats of their king, and the achievements of a ruinous expedition, that domestic characters and the events of peace were lost in the turbid stream, and died away unrecorded.—But, in France, for some years, we had beheld the growing greatness of Philip Augustus; while, by the side of Richard, whether in his own territories, or at Messina, or in Palestine, his temperate, but manly character, commanded our admiration, and defied competition.—Frederic had perished in the Salef: the Norman line of kings was at an end on the throne of Sicily: and at Rome, after a succession of five less illustrious bishops, from the death of Alexander, was seated Innocent III.

The

The conduct and character of John, and the events of his reign, are recent on the memory. We saw its inauspicious opening, his weak treaty with France, his ungenerous marriage of Isabella, and his vain and oppressive progress through the provinces of England. The barons shewed their discontent, when he passed into Poitou, took Arthur prisoner; and we heared the rumours which followed his death, and which was succeeded by the loss of Normandy and other possessions. Stephen Langton came forward on the scene, which gave rise to altercations between John and the pontiff. The kingdom fell under an interdict, and the rage of the king broke loose. Then opened the important contest, which, after various occurrences, led to the submission of John to the mandates of Rome, and which produced the meeting of the barons, and their confederacy. We beheld them at St. Edmundsbury, after the taking off of the interdict, and their successive proceedings, till they met on Runnemede. MAGNA CHARTA. The dark vengeance of John followed, and the preparations for war. The barons were excommunicated, the country laid waste, prince Louis invited over, landed in spite of the pontiff's injunctions, and while he besieged the castles of Windsor and Dover, John took the field, and as a gloom spread round the general aspect of things, he died. — The under-actors, who chiefly claimed attention, were Stephen Langton, and the Roman Pandulphus, and the barons pressing forward, with a restless ardour, to the new dawn of liberty. In France, Philip had still kept the ascendant, rather he had risen higher, in competition with our inglorious monarch;

BOOK VI. monarch, and had added territories to his crown. — The brave Otho had fallen from the German throne ; while from Sicily came another Frederic, who would eclipse the fame of his grandfather Barbarossa.—In the chair of the humble fisherman, was seen Innocent !
1216.

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.

A P P E N D I X . I.

On the MANNERS, ARTS, and LEARNING of the PERIOD.

Manners of the English and Normans at the conquest.—Progressive change.—Chivalry.—Amusements.—Dress.—Agriculture.—Architecture.—Arms and armour.—Arts of clothing.—Sculpture.—Painting.—Poetry.—Music.—Trade.—Value of money.—Intercourse with France.—General influence of Rome.—Monastic institutions.—Francis of Assissium.—Dominic.—Crusades.—Learning.—Grammar.—Rhetoric.—Logic, metaphysics, physics, ethics.—Scholastic divinity.—Canon and civil law.—Oxford.—Cambridge.—Cathedral and other schools.—Paris and Bologna.—General view of learned men.—The Polycraticon.—Conclusion.

THE monk. of Malmesbury has told us, what were the characters of the English and Norman people, when the island, in 1066, submitted to the conqueror.—But a few years, he observes, before that event, the study of literature and of religion had decayed. The clergy could hardly stammer through the necessary service of the church; and he who knew the rules of grammar, was viewed as a

Manners of
the English
and Normans
at the con-
quest.

prodigy.—The monks, elegantly habited, and regardless of forbidden meats, ridiculed their holy institutes.—The nobility, glutinous and sunk in licentious pleasures, neglected the common practices of religion.—And the people were a prey to the rapacious violence of their lords.—But to drink was the common occupation of all orders: in this they spent their nights and days; and in low and mean houses they consumed their substance. The vices which attend on ebriety, and which enervate man, came along with it. Hence, by a mad and headstrong rashness, which no military science governed, in a single battle, and that easily gained, they gave themselves and country to slavery.—Their garments were short, reaching to the knee: their hair shorn, and their beards shaven, excepting on the upper lip: and, with painted figures marked on the skin, they wore on their arms heavy bracelets of gold.—But their intemperance only they communicated, themselves, in other regards, acquiring the manners of the victors.

The Normans, on the other hand, were then, and continued to be, ostentatiously fond of dress; and the delicacy they affected in their food, was vitiated by no excess.—Their hair was long and curled; their chins entirely shaven.—Inured to arms, and only pleased with the occupations of war or the field, they excelled in the arts of attack; and what strength could not effect, they attempted by bribes and stratagem.—In their buildings they were magnificent; in their expences temperate.—Jealous of their equals, they sought to emulate their superiors, and though they treated their inferiors with harshness, they would protect them from injury. Their allegiance was sincere, but which

which the slightest offence could break asunder. — Of all men they were the most kind to strangers ; they intermarried with those they had conquered ; and reviving amongst them the spirit of religion, which was extinct, they erected churches, and, in a new style of architecture, decorated with convents the hamlets, the towns, the cities. The country, in its novel garb, again flourished ; while he, whose means were ample, deemed the day lost, which some beneficent deed had not illustrated^a.

Thus wrote William of Malmesbury, nearly a hundred years after the conquest, and as in blood he was allied to both people, we may conclude, that no undue partiality had biased his judgment.—In the scale of excellence much did the Norman character preponderate, meliorated as itself had been, from the days of Rollo, through the lapse of almost two centuries, by the genial climate and fertile soil of Normandy, by their intercourse with the French provinces, and by the happy influence of Christian morality. But though nothing, in the ordinary course of things, be so difficult to eradicate as national characters, manners, and customs, which, in the northern and western districts of this island, have resisted the impression of ages, and are yet unchanged ; yet, at that time, fortunately, there was a circumstance in the English character, which had prepared the way for such improvement, as the Norman manners seemed best calculated to induce. No uniform series of impressions had given stability to any system of effects. Britain had been exposed to the influence of Roman manners ; the Saxons had exterminated in part, and in part new modelled,

^a Wil. Malm. l. iii. p. 57.

the British constitution ; the Danish settlement had effected another change ; and now came the Norman conquerors. In a people, so heterogeneously constituted, in blood, in manners, and in language, there must have been an aptitude to take new forms ; and our historian has said, that the effect corresponded, that they gave to the victors their gluttony and love of liquor, and in return put on the noble endowments of generosity and public munificence.

Progressive
change.

It is curious to trace this progress of national improvement, the more prominent lines of which, in the arts of peace and war, our historians have been careful to mark ; whilst every change in the manners of the multitude, agreeably to the common phenomena of human nature, advances in a more slow and silent process. Here ages must elapse, before a new trace, perhaps, will be uniformly produced ; for even at this day, I doubt not, the common people of England retain much of the character, of the manners, and of the customs of their Saxon ancestors. They would be Britons even, as the Welsh are, had not that race been driven to the western mountains of the island. — In the higher ranks of life, with which the kings, the nobles, the clergy, mixed, who were Normans, or of Norman origin, the manners of the ruling party would soon preponderate. Indeed, the name of Englishman, by a well-concerted policy, became a term of reproach, and the natives, for a time, sank in contempt and wretchedness. By degrees, the odious stigma wore away ; the victors, as I have remarked, could even admire the system of Saxon legislation, which had before prevailed in the island ; and animosities and mutual jealousies ceasing, the discordant factions coalesced into

into a mighty people. Towards the close of the period I have described, this had visibly happened. But then also the Norman manners very generally prevailed.

The system of education established in the grammar schools, with a view to extirpate the English language, spread widely the knowledge of the French tongue ; and as this continued to be alone spoken at court, and the laws and law-proceedings were administered in it, he who looked for favour or preferment, would be compelled to learn it. But the vulgar tongue of the great body of the people resisted every effort, unless in such slight and gradual changes, as time would naturally introduce. They frequented not the schools of grammar, and other motives, in their regard, had no effect. However, the language of the ruling party, in the higher orders of society, did prevail ; and in its extent, it became the vehicle of ideas, and with ideas the vehicle of new tastes and manners.

Such were the spirit of chivalry and the love of martial sports, little known in the island before the coming of the Normans. But now the genius of the great was wholly modified by them, and they drew into energy the nobler passions of the heart. The school of chivalry, indeed, was the school of public virtue ; but many authors have viewed it with an eye too partial. It only qualified for the profession of arms, which soon became so imposing, from the lustre of knighthood and its manifold honours, that, in the false blaze, the worth of domestic virtues was lost, and to be martial and magnanimous alone excited ambition, and called for praise. We have seen how the general propensities of the age submitted to the impulse, and were led by it. The

Chivalry.

lessons

lessons of education had that tendency; and the castle of every baron was a school of arms, in which the rudiments of chivalry, under the laws of courtesy and politeness, were instilled, and the noble youths, in the exercises of dancing, riding, hawking, hunting, tilting, prepared for the higher offices, to which they aspired. These exercises, called the preludes of war, have been often described.

In the court of the sovereign, or in the castles of the barons, the ladies, also, under similar impressions, received their education. They were often the wards of their lord, and were bred up under his eye, or that of his lady. But as courtesy, valour, and gallantry were the qualities, which one sex would be taught most to cultivate, so would gentleness, a modest reserve, and chastity be the peculiar endowments of the other. These virtues, by a charming contrast, would mutually blend, and give to their respective votaries the powers of mutually pleasing. But though such was the tendency of chivalry, and its lessons, the reader will have seen that the effects did not correspond with the romantic system. Ignorance of the rights of men and of the pure maxims of morality, and the reaction of headstrong passions, which rapacity and the licence of arms fomented, stood in the way, marring its happiest influence. Theoretic schemes of virtue, at best the playful offspring of ingenuity, can then do little, when the elements, which constitute probity and justness of character, have not been implanted. But I meant only to instance, and not to appreciate the merits of, a cause, from which, with the rest of Europe, the manners of Englishmen received a peculiar tincture.

Tournaments were the great sport which chivalry introduced. But till the reign of Richard, they appear not to have been held in this country with any marked festivity; a circumstance which proves, with what reluctance, the genius of the nation adopted novelty even in its amusements. Yet tournaments, from their pomp and princely splendour, could interest the proudest passions of the heart, and become the theatre of glory. Our princes and nobles, as I related, debarred from the amusement at home, eagerly sought it on the continent; but when Richard had given vogue to the martial sport, the phlegmatic islanders adopted it with ardour, and we saw the barons sacrificing to it their own and their country's most important interests.

Hunting and hawking were the other principal diversions, which the Normans introduced, if that may be called a diversion, which tended to oppress the weak, to dispeople the country, and to give energy to the brutal and selfish affections. "At this time," says John of Salisbury, "hunting and hawking are deemed the most honourable employments; and in them to spend their whole time, the nobility think the supreme felicity of life.—For these sports they prepare with more anxiety and expence, than they do for war; and they pursue wild beasts with greater fury, than the enemies of their country. Thus they lose the best part of their humanity, and become almost as savage as the animals they pursue.—The husbandman with his herds and flocks, is driven from his fields, his meadows, and his pastures, that room may be made for the beasts of the forest."—We know, how the country was

^b De nugis curial. l. i. c. 4.

was covered with royal forests, and the inhuman laws which were made to protect the game; while round the castle of every baron the best lands were emparked, or wooded, and the little sovereign in selfish tyranny, indulged the savage sport of the field. But so fascinating are those diversions, which, by the combined action of novelty, variety, and exercise, can interest the feelings, and rouse them into tumult, that men of all descriptions, when no contrary views or propensities were thwarted, became enamoured of the sport, and followed it with ardour. Even the clergy and the ladies were so far seized with the general rage, that, to check the unseemly passion, in the former, the church enacted many canons, and the writer, I have quoted, remarks, that the ladies so much excelled in hawking, as to surpass the gentlemen in the frivolous amusement. So he rudely termed it.

Dress.

The English also soon imitated their gay masters in the elegance and richness of their dress, and in the fashion of the hair. But it was not, without much reluctance, that they resigned their whiskers, some of them, as our historians have related, rather preferring to abandon their country; and they represent the ordinance of the conqueror, which compelled them to shave the whole beard, as a wanton act of tyranny. The flowing ringlets of the Normans, in return, were persecuted with a no less relentless zeal by the clergy, who, themselves deprived of the becoming ornament, treated it with every indignity, and as the mark of certain reprobation,

But England was indebted to her conquerors for better improvements, than their chivalry, their sports, or the fashion

fashion of their beards, could induce. I mean the *necessary* and the *pleasing* arts. Of the first kind, were agriculture, architecture, clothing, and the arts of defensive and offensive war; and by the latter may be understood sculpture, painting, and whatever tended to the comforts or embellishments of life.

Agriculture, in its various branches, was much improved. Agriculture. From the fertile and cultivated plains of Flanders, France, and Normandy, had come over with the conqueror many thousand hands, who settled in the island, practising the methods of culture, they had been used to at home, and importing their implements. Also, in the succeeding reigns, many Flemings continued to come amongst us. We read of Norman barons, whose attention to agriculture was great, who planted orchards, cultivated wastes, and inclosed and drained extensive lakes and fens. But to the monks the greatest obligations were due. Five hundred and fifty-seven religious houses are said to have been founded, between the conquest and the death of John. Their site was, generally, on some barren spot, and the lands, which the pious donors settled on them, covered with brakes or immerged in water, had never felt the scythe or sickle. These were cleared, and drained, and tilled, often by the hands of the monks themselves; and rich fields, meadows, and pastures were soon seen to smile, where the bramble before had crawled, and the bulrush only had nodded. — William of Malmesbury celebrates the vale of Gloucester, famous, he says, for its fertility in corn and fruit-trees, some of which the soil spontaneously produced, and the sides of the public roads were decorated with their richness.

" This vale," he adds, " is more thickly planted with vines, than any other part of England, and here they are more productive, and their flavour is more grateful. The wines made from them have no harshness in the mouth, and are little inferior to those of France." We have other proofs of the existence of vineyards, which the monks and clergy, for their own benefit, principally cultivated,

Architecture.

Architecture, perhaps, still flourished more, sacred, civil, and military.—The churches of the Saxons were low, unornamented, and dark. But now a better taste began to prevail, which led soon to the accomplishment of those noble structures, which, at this day, we view with pleasure and admiration. In the reign of Henry II. appeared the *modern Gothic*. Cathedral and other churches were every where erected, often on the ruins of the ancient edifices; and convents and cloisters rose, at once the monuments of the piety, the magnificence, and the taste of the age. But the materials, the stone and marble, were often both brought from foreign quarries, and the principal artificers were foreigners. We have accurate accounts left us of the manner of raising these edifices, and of the means, not unfrequently, employed to procure supplies. When the energies of religious zeal have been duly excited, no obstacles will impede the execution of its bold designs.

Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, who was an eye-witness, has related the burning of the choir of the cathedral of Christchurch, in that city, in 1174, which Lanfranc had erected, and its immediate reparation, in less than ten years. He details, through each year, the general progress of

* Pont. Angl. p. 161.

of the work, in the preparation of the materials, the erection of the walls and columns, in stone and marble, the turning of the arches, the placing of the windows, and the labours of the sculptors and carvers in completing the admirable plan. The architect was a Frenchman from Sens, who gave and executed the design; but he being hurt by a fall, in the beginning of the fifth year, an English artist was employed to finish the work^d. — Earlier than this, and in the same century, were rebuilt the abbey and church of Croyland, which a fire also had destroyed. The abbot had obtained from the archbishops of England and their suffragans, an *indulgence*, which dispensed with the third part of all penances for sin to those, who should contribute any thing towards the pious work; and it was directed to the king and his people, and to the kings of France and Scotland, and to all other kings and their vassals, rich and poor, in all parts of the christian world. Two monks carried the animating instrument into France and Flanders, two others into Scotland, two into Denmark and Norway, two into Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, and others into the counties of England. Four years were spent, when mountains of marble, says the historian, were collected round the spot, with immense heaps of gold and silver, of iron, brass, cement, and every necessary material. The day was fixed for laying the foundation.

On the day, a great multitude, from the neighbouring districts, met at Croyland, earls, barons, and knights, with their ladies and families, abbots, priors, monks, nuns, clerks, and persons of all ranks.—The abbot Joffred

^d De combust. et repar. Dorob. eccles. p. 1290.

prayed, and shedding tears of joy, laid the corner-stone of the eastern front to the north. The next was laid by Richard de Rulos, a knight much attached to the abbey, and on it twenty pounds. Then came Geoffry Ridel, a knight, and his wife Geva, and his sister Avicia, the first laying on his stone ten marks; and the ladies having placed their stones, presented each a stone-cutter to serve, at their expence, for two years.—The next corner stone, to the south of the same front, was laid by the abbot of Thorney, Joffred's brother, and on it ten pounds. Alan de Croun a baron, with his lady, and their eldest son and daughter, placed the next four stones, offering on them the title-deeds of the advowsons of four neighbouring churches.—The earl of Leicester, and the baron de Cante-lupe, with his lady, and Alan de Fulbek, and Theoderic de Botheby, with his lady, and Turbrand de Spalding, knights; and then the earl of Northampton, followed by four knights, and three ladies, placed their respective stones, in the circle of the same front, each, in order, offering on them, forty marks, twenty marks, a hundred shillings, the gift of a messuage and two acres of land, the tithes of sheep, a hundred marks, the service of two stone-cutters for four years, and the tithes of Kirkby and of four other livings.—The foundation stones of the north and south walls were then laid by the same two abbots and the monks of the convent; when the priests of three neighbouring parishes advanced, and laid the bases of the three columns of the north wall, the first attended by a hundred and four men of his parish, offering their labour for one day in every month; the second with sixty, and the third with forty-two men, making the same

same offering, till the work should be completed. The three columns of the south wall were then laid by the priest of Grantham, with two hundred and twenty men, offering ten marks; and by the priest of Hockam, with his men, presenting twenty quarters of wheat and as many of malt; and by a third priest, with eighty-four men, offering six marks, two stone-cutters in their own quarry, and the carriage of the stone to Croyland.

Joffred, who had addressed each one as he laid his stone, now having admitted them to the fraternity of the abbey, and, with the benefits of the indulgence, to the participation also of their joint prayers and good works, invited the vast concourse, more than five thousand persons, to dinner. The day passed in hilarity, when the strangers retired, and the great work began. And soon, concludes the historian, the public apartments of the monks were completed, while the church, rising to the clouds, looked down on the neighbouring forest, inviting the traveller to approach^c.

By means like these were those noble structures raised, which, at this time, wealthy, and munificent, and skilful as we are, nations hardly dare attempt. That superstition, as we conceive it, was the animating principle, which planned and accomplished the designs, I am ready to allow; but, by what name shall that reforming zeal be called, which, some hundred years afterwards, could raise the massive hammer, and crumble in the dust the proud materials?

The improvements in civil architecture, as the author I first quoted, has remarked, were not less progressive. But we

^c Continuat. hist. Ingulph. p. 118.

we must confine them to the palaces, or rather castles, of the nobility; for the buildings of the common people in the towns and country, made of wood and covered with straw or reeds, continued to be mean and comfortless. Everywhere castles were raised by the kings and barons, for their defence, as well as residence, particularly under the first kings; and in the reign alone of Stephen, no less than eleven hundred and fifteen. They encumbered the land, lowering oppression and defiance, and were often the seats of rapacity and plunder. In their construction we must not look for elegance, or the display of the finer arts, which decorated the monasteries and churches. Properly, therefore, they come under the description of *military architecture*, and from the few which as yet stand, we may form a just idea of their former strength and structure. They were generally covered with lead, as were the churches, and the narrow windows were glazed, admitting a scanty and enfeebled light. The great hall alone could cheer the welcome stranger, in which the noble landlord sat, encompassed by his friends and retainers, whilst the full bowl went round, and the jocund minstrels swelled the dank air with their songs.

Arms and
armour.

The arts of offensive and defensive war, in the raising and marshalling of armies, in their armour and arms, their shields, spears, swords, lances, darts, bows, arrows, slings, with the various machines for throwing darts, and stones, and battering walls, in the attack and defence of places, it is unnecessary to exhibit. The foregoing history has sufficiently detailed their use, and marked their rapid progress to great perfection. But the battle of Hastings had clearly evinced

evinced the superior skill of the Normans. And here I wish to notice the admirable construction of the armour used in battle, and the ingenuity of the artists, which seems to have risen to uncommon excellence. A suit of armour was made of steel, and consisted of many different pieces, for the several parts of the body, so nicely joined, that the action of the limbs remained free, and their whole strength could be exerted. A knight cased in armour was almost invulnerable; but we may, with reason, be surprised that he did not sink under the weight, or that his arm, through a summer's day, could wield a heavy sword or battle-axe. The armour, particularly the helmet, was well tempered, and polished, and sometime gilt. We read also of horses who were fitted with armour.

But the art of working in gold and silver, in the plate and ornaments of churches, seems, from some accounts, to have been carried to greater perfection. Here the pride and piety of many prelates and abbots urged the work; and zeal even could transfuse its animating glow into the hand of the artist, while it fashioned the sacred implement, or decorated the shrine of some favourite saint. An observation, however, should not be omitted, that the perfection of arts is relative, and that what, at that time, was viewed with wonder, we should cast away with disdain.

I mentioned the arts of *clothing*, which consist in dressing and spinning wool and flax, and weaving them into linen and woollen cloth, which now also were much improved, owing principally to the many manufacturers, who came over from Flanders. "Leaving their looms," says an ancient writer, "a business familiar and almost peculiar to

Arts of clothing.

"that

"that people, they landed in shoals amongst us."¹ This was in the reign of Stephen; and before that time, and soon after it, colonies of them were settled in South Wales, pursuing their favourite occupation, where their children, at this day, are.—The weavers in the great towns of England were now formed into guilds; and there is a law of 1197, which regulates the fabrication and sale of broad cloth, in which many abuses had been committed: but, in the following reign, a suspension of the ordinance was obtained.—In a letter of John of Salisbury, I find mention made of three hundred ells of Rhemish linen, presented by a lady to Henry II. *to make him shirts*; which proves that, though linen was then generally worn, the finer articles were held in great estimation: for such, we may presume, was that which was offered to a king.

Silks, though worn by persons of high rank, particularly on solemn occasions, and in general use in the churches, seem not, at this time, to have been manufactured in England. But the art of embroidery was much practised by the ladies, especially by the nuns in their convents, in ornamenting the vestments of the priests, and other garments for the service of the altar. The reader will also recollect the splendid mantle of Richard, when he appeared in the plain of Limisso, though that, probably, had been made in Sicily, then famed for its filken manufactures.

Sculpture.

As for the *pleasing arts* of sculpture, painting, poetry, and music, though the writers of the age be loud in their praise, and they were pursued with eagerness, yet little excellence had been acquired in them.—The churches, indeed,

¹ Gerv. an. 1139.

indeed, were crowded with the statues of saints, and the motives of veneration which, in other days, are supposed to have given a peculiar energy to the Grecian artists, when they fashioned the statues of their gods, would now also, by a similar impulse, animate the glowing chisel ; but the concurrence of many circumstances, few of which times such as these could possess, is besides necessary to lead the arts to perfection. It must, however, be owned, that their revival, and the degree of excellence to which they rose, after the barbarians of the north had desolated the Roman provinces, were solely ascribable to the superstition, in the dark ages, of the christian converts. A nation of philosophers, or men of cool religion, would erect no magnificent churches, labour no breathing statues ; in a word, would not pursue the arts, which, giving a lustre to external piety, tend also to improve and to embellish life.

Painting likewise was much practised, not only on the ceilings of churches, which was common ; but in ornamenting the apartments, furniture, and especially the shields, of persons of rank. The subjects, we may presume, were historical. Portrait painting also was followed. — With what taste such works were executed, can only be estimated from the general standard of the age. The rapturous strains of the monkish writers must pass unheeded. — But it is evident, that they well understood how to prepare and combine their colours, as the beautiful *illuminations* of books, which still exist, sufficiently prove.—The art of painting or staining glass, which had been long known on the continent, is thought to have been brought into England in the reign of John.

The *poetry* of the age was written in English, then a harsh and uncultivated tongue, or in Latin, or in *lingua Romana*, the Romance language, at that time, spoken in all the provinces of France. This was used by the Normans, and differed little from the Provençal, which has been termed the daughter of the Latin, and mother of the French. I am dispensed from entering on the subject; so admirably has it been treated by the *Historian of our poetry*. But his eye, penetrating the covering which an uncouth language spread, seems sometimes to have discovered beauties, which are lost to others. All the productions of the age, as far as I have seen, some Latin poems only excepted, are to my apprehension most contemptible. Yet when we reflect, with what ardour the pleasing art was cultivated, how esteemed were its professors, how honoured, and how rewarded, the problem will not be easily solved. To say that their language would not bend to sublime or melodious strains, is to know nothing of the powers of genius, which, at will, can create language, and embody thought. How rude was the Galic tongue, when Ossian sang, or that of Iceland, when its Rhythmic odes were written! Yet in them are the genuine seeds of poetry. But English had been long spoken, and the Romance language, as articulated in Provence, was full and harmonious: still, in the compositions of both countries there was no simplicity, no grandeur of imagery, no boldness of thought, no energy of expression. All is weak, affected, low, laboured, puerile. The character of mind, therefore, was defective, and not the language in which they wrote. Their religion did not elevate: they viewed battles with a cold indifference: and in

in describing beauty or the concerns of love, they looked to forced conceits only and affected metaphors. What can be so pitiful as the sonnet ascribed to Richard, the royal troubadour, written, it is said, in his captivity? And his companion and historian, Vinsauf, who even wrote in Latin, was as bad a poet as he. I have not solved the problem; but I must proceed.

The *music* of the age, we need not doubt, kept pace with its poetry. Both arts, indeed, were generally in the same hands; for the poets were minstrels, and sang their verses to the music of their harps. They lived in the courts of princes, and in the castles of the barons, ministering to their vanity, and receiving wealth and honour in return for their songs. The flattering circumstance proves the fashion of the age, and not, as some have fancied, that the minstrels had any claim to real excellence. But in music, as in the other arts, all excellence is relative.—It was of three kinds, sacred, civil, and martial.

The harp, except in the churches, where the organ was used, and in the armies, where they used horns, drums, and trumpets, was the most-favourite and admired instrument. Giraldus, the Welsh historian, in describing the music of the times, gives the preference to that of the Irish, the movement of which, he says, was quick and rapid, but soothing and sweet, while the modulation of the English was slow and languid. But it was in music only, he observes malevolently, that the Irish nation had any claim to excellence; and he goes on to describe, with much surprise, their masterly execution on the harp. Scotland then, he says, and Wales, emulous of their sister's glory, strove to pursue

her ships.—The Irish had two instruments, the harp and the timbrel: the Scots three, the harp, the timbrel, and the bag-pipe; and the Welsh three, the harp, the pib-corn, and the bag-pipe. The Irish harps had generally brass strings. “But at this time,” he concludes, “Scotland, ‘in the opinion of many, has left her mistress far behind; ‘and to her they have recourse, as to the source of melody.” — The same author commends highly the Welsh manner of singing, which appears from its various tones and modulations, to have been very harmonious. The English also, beyond the Humber, and in the neighbourhood of York, he says, excelled in singing, though their songs consisted only of two parts, the deep murmuring bass, and the high and sweet sounding treble^h. But the dialect of this same people, observes the monk of Malmesbury, was so harsh and stridulous, as not to be understood by the southern English.

Trade.

I would willingly say something on the *trade of England*, which, though it received a check at the conquest by the prevalence of feudal maxims, soon recovered additional vigour from our French and Flemish connections, would my limits allow it.—The chief seats of trade, as they long had been, were London, Bristol, Exeter, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Dunwich, and the Cinque-ports; and the principal exports were wool and woollen cloths, corn, metals, slaves; and the imports were wines, spiceries, silks, metals, furs. The internal trade was in the hands of the natives, and the foreign mostly in the hands of foreigners. The Jews were numerous, as traders and as money-lenders.

But

* Topograph. Hibern. l. iii. c. 11.

* Camb. descrip. c. 13.

But on the subject of commerce, however important we may deem it, little is to be collected from the monkish writers.

The same nominal sum of money, a *pound*, a *mark*, a *shilling*, contained nearly *thrice* as much silver, (for gold was not in use,) as the same nominal sum contains at present. To know, therefore, how many of our pounds, marks, or shillings were contained in any sum then mentioned, we must multiply it by three. In a year of plenty, Matthew of Paris observes, a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings, that is, six shillings of our money.

Value of money.

But the *same quantity* of silver was much more valuable than it is now; and that *value* seems most properly estimated in the proportion of five to one: that is, the same quantity of silver, at that time, purchased five times as much of labour, meat or drink, as it would at present. In a great dearth, says Henry of Huntington, a quarter of wheat sold for six shillings, that is, for four pounds ten shillings.

Hitherto I have considered the manners and the general state of the island, as improved and modified by the Norman settlers: but to the operation of this cause the whole effect must not be confined. At the same time, our intercourse with France, from all its provinces, operated; for we travelled into all, and were connected with all, (various as their manners and tastes were,) in sovereignty, or in trade, or in learning, or in chivalry. But with the whole western coast, a vast district reaching from the British channel to the Pyrenean mountains, our union was most intimate, forming one people by the common ties of interest and dominion. And the French language, with which our ears were familiarised, and which was generally understood,

Intercourse with France.

served

seived as a vehicle, whereby the manners and tastes even of the distant provinces were communicated to the island. Our princes, as we observed in duke Richard and others, with their courts and retainers lived on the continent, maintaining an interchange of ideas and maxims, the effects of which would be obvious. Thence men were called into England to occupy important offices in church and state; for many of our bishops, particularly, were foreigners; and the circumstance would greatly contribute to diffuse their manners.

General influence of Rome.

But the reader has witnessed the wonderful influence of a distant court, which reached to this country, and to all the countries of Europe, modifying, in some degree, their manners, and controlling their opinions, in religion, in morals, and in politics. I speak of the Roman court. However, as England was not more exposed to the impression than other nations, its general effect should be viewed; and this leads me to observe, that, at no time, perhaps, in the history of mankind, were the manners, the ideas, and the character of Europe so similar as at this. I mean, in regard to those people, whose politics I have mentioned.—In Germany, France, Sicily, and England, the governments were feudal: but where this happens, the concomitant similarity of effects needs not be detailed. On the throne of Sicily even were Norman princes.—The religion also of these kingdoms, and of Europe, was the same; and to all extended the controlling power of Rome.

Rome then, by her agents, and more by the opinion she had been able to impress, of her universal jurisdiction and infallible decisions, could sway, often irresistibly, as we have

have seen, the whole system of politics and religion. She stood as a centre of union, conveying her energy through a thousand channels, while her emissaries, at a distance, maintained the illusion, and crowds of appellants and candidates flocked to her court, pleading for redress, or imploring patronage. With what readiness and alacrity these journeys were performed, the reader has often witnessed, though the roads were bad, and no conveniences of travelling could be found. But as the Romans were a polished people, and the arts and sciences were much cultivated among them, and in the states of Italy, many advantages arose from the intercourse, to balance the abuses of an undue power; and the improvements of Europe and of this country were, in many instances, ascribable to it.

It has been sometimes said that, with the Normans came into this country a system of religious belief, different from what the Saxons had professed, particularly in regard to the prerogative of the Roman bishop. The question is not fairly stated. Our Saxon kings with their bishops were far more bigoted, and more subservient to the will of Rome, than were the princes and clergy of the Norman line; but, at that time, the monstrous theory of papal domination had not been universally disseminated, and Christian Europe was more independent and free. It was a few years after the conquest that Gregory VII. the father of ecclesiastical despotism, sat in the chair of St. Peterⁱ. To this circumstance of the general prevalence of the doctrine, and not to any peculiar attachment of the Normans to the see of Rome, must be ascribed that submission to its mandates, which we often

ⁱ Hist. of Abcil. p. 23.

often witnessed. We also witnessed their bold resistance, when to obey did not comport with their interest or their humour.

Monastic institutions.

In speaking of the religious notions of the period, a curious subject presents itself, with which they immediately connect, and on which, would my limits permit the discussion, I could enlarge with pleasure. I mean the new monastic institutes. In another work^k, I related the rise and progress of the orders of Cluni and Citeaux, with some others, the latter of which, owing to the great fame of Bernard, rapidly spread through Europe, eclipsing by its austere and holy manners the hard-earned praise of other monks. Into England the Cistercian order was fondly received, and established in many houses, with a princely munificence, during the reign of Henry I. and his immediate successors. But in all things there is fashion. The minds of the founders of orders had, for centuries, been employed in devising new institutes, new dresses, new modes of life; and their contemporaries, as the holy fancy led, warmly espoused the novel form, and gave their persons and their purses to support it. At no time was this propensity more busily at work than in the dark ages; though the council of Lateran had recently prohibited the invention of new orders. But as one order sprang up, another fell. Wealth, gradually accumulating, destroyed the fervent spirit, which once commanded admiration; men tired of an institute, to which they and their fathers had been long habituated; and when a new order rose, with it crowded on the right whatever fervorous zeal and unfulfilled purity

^k Hist. of Abeil. p. 105, 179.

purity could present most affecting and awful. Even miracles were thought to speak in its favour. — But in the great variety of orders, which now existed, it might have been imagined, that human invention was exhausted, or that enough, at least, had been done to satisfy the most unbounded curiosity. It was not so; and the reader shall just be permitted to see, how wide a sphere had been left unoccupied.

Francis named of Assisium, from the place of his birth, a town in the ecclesiastical states, about the year 1206 founded an order, the character and leading maxims of which, even in an age of prodigies, could excite amazement. He was the son of a merchant, and bred to his father's trade. But particularly constituted, and listening to dreams and visions, his mind opened to other impressions: he despised the money-getting life, solaced the indigent by his charities, made himself a butt of ridicule to his fellow-citizens, and finally surrendered into his father's hands every prospect of future support, stripping off his garments before him, that he might be the better able to repeat, he said, *Our father who art in heaven!* He indulged the warm suggestions of his mind, by the practices of self-abasement, in aiding the sick, begging alms for their relief, and carrying stones on his back so the repair of some fallen churches. As one day he listened to the gospels, he heared the words read:

“ Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses;

“ nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither

“ shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his

“ meat.” — “ That,” he exclaimed, “ is the life I wish for;” and he threw aside his shoes, his wallet, his staff, and the

Francis of
Assisium.

little money he had, keeping only one poor coat, with a capuce, such as the shepherds in Italy then wore, girded round with a knotted cord. This became the dress of his followers.

That he should find followers, may appear extraordinary. He had no learning : but in his words there was a great simplicity ; a gentleness in his manners which attracted ; in his conduct a forgiveness of injuries, a patience of insults, a contempt of riches, and a purity which raised admiration, and drew attention round him. He preached, and soon had disciples. With these, who were eleven in number, having first drawn up a rule founded on the letter of the gospel maxims, he went to Rome, and presented himself before the pontiff. It was the high-minded Innocent. He heard the lowly Francis enounce the nature of his institute, which a zeal for the reformation of a vicious age principally animated, and, after some objections made to the practicability of the scheme, approved it.

The rule in its first form, and as afterwards more detailed, besides the three usual vows of *obedience, chastity, and poverty*, contained injunctions which were peculiar to it. The brothers shall consider themselves as pilgrims and strangers in the world ; shall possess no property in lands or any endowments of their houses ; shall support themselves by the free contributions of the faithful ; but, on no occasion, shall receive money. There is a wonderful spirit of humility, of submission to a ruling providence, of good will to mankind, which pervades this extraordinary code of laws, tinctured by no views of party, no self-interest, no human policy. A society of christian philosophers was seen to rise,

who

who by an easy effort, it seemed, could practise the sublime lessons, which the sages of Greece had boastingly delivered to their followers. What an ancient poet said of Zeno, the father of the Stoic school, *efurire docet, et invenit discipulos*, with more propriety might be applied to the holy citizen of Assisium.

Soon he began to found convents, as the fame of his sanctity grew; and as his disciples multiplied, he sent them, with excellent admonitions, into the provinces of Italy, and to distant nations, to preach, to instruct, and to edify. —In 1219 was held a general chapter of the order near Assisium, when more than five thousand brothers appeared in the field. For several days there they remained, sitting and sleeping on the bare earth, while provisions flowed in from the neighbouring towns, and the nobles of the land, and the clergy, with their own hands administered to them. —In this year a colony of them came into England, where being kindly received, they established themselves first in Canterbury, and then in London, under the name of *Grey Friars*. Francis died seven years after this, having witnessed the wonderful spread of his institute, and gained the reputation of a saint by the display of extraordinary virtues¹. In an age of less intemperance in religion, miracles and the fancied intervention of peculiar favours from heaven would not have been deemed necessary, to stamp worth and admiration on a character, which, in itself, possessed the purest excellences that fall to the lot of man. But this circumstance, and more than this, the reception which an institute so peculiarly framed met with, serve to manifest the singular taste of the age.

¹ *Auctores varii.*

Dominic.

At the same time rose the order of Dominic, a Spaniard of the Gofinan family, born in the diocese of Osma. We first read of him with his bishop, in the missions of Languedoc, against the Albigenses. He had studied in the new schools of Palencia, and was well skilled in the controversies of the times. His zeal for the orthodox belief was conspicuous; but it seemed, that his gentle manners and a great benevolence of character would check its too ardent propensities. Dominic also would be the founder of an order; and under him sprang up that of the Dominicans, less austere in its practices than that we have seen, and which soon also multiplied into all the kingdoms of Europe. They came to England with the Franciscans, and were called the *Black Friars*. Under the auspices of Dominic the court of Inquisition took a more regular form, which had before been established in Languedoc. He died five years before St. Francis.—Other orders, during this period, were founded; but these were the most conspicuous, and their descendants still subsist.

Crusades.

The crusades must not be forgotten; for they also, in return for the treasure and the lives which they consumed, contributed something to the general stock of improvement. But this has been over-rated. From the intercourse of so many nations, which the common cause united, and from their mutual collision, advantages, I know, would be derived; and to these, in the last expedition, might be added some acquirements in the art of navigation, and the lessons which the improved state of Sicily would present to the inquisitive and the curious. That there were such men in the holy armies, it is natural to conclude; yet to judge from

from the best documents, it seems, that they brought little ~~book~~ with them, but the bodies of saints, and tales of strange adventures; and that a vain superstition joined to a horror of those, whom they deemed the enemies of Christ, had so absorbed the common powers of observation and discernment, that they could neither see, nor collect from, the various stores of information, which lay open before them. No benefits at least were so prominent, as to have produced any sensible change in the arts of agriculture, trade, or manufactures. I mentioned, in its place, some of the advantages which western Europe derived from the taking of Constantinople.

I am come to the *learning* of the period.—It will be re-collected from William of Malmesbury, how low was the state of literature at the Norman accession. We must therefore now look for the dawn of science, however languid and uncertain its first rays may seem. Such is the relation in the general order of things, and such the mental progress, that the whole system together moves, rises, declines, and falls. We have seen what, in various lines, the improvements were. Learning would keep pace with them; for there were similar causes to urge on its progress.

As glory can be obtained from letters, and therefore by encouraging the professors of them, it was natural that our Norman kings, when their establishment was secured, and the ambition of conquest was allayed, should direct their attention to less tumultuary pursuits. The conqueror had been well educated, and he soon became the munificent patron of learned men. They crowded to his court, and diffused around it a spirit of literary improvement, which would

would spread, in undulating circles, to the nearer and more distant castles of the barons. His son Henry, named *Beauchlerk*, was himself a scholar. And Henry Plantagenet, as we have seen, spent his leisure hours in reading, or in discussing literary questions in a circle of learned men. The example of kings is a powerful incentive; it rouses emulation, and opens the eye to favour and preferment: and where they can reward, interest will give a spur to pursuits.

The intercourse also which England maintained with the continent, opened a channel through which the learning of distant provinces, and of remote kingdoms, but especially of Rome flowed in. We frequented the schools of other kingdoms, particularly those of Bologna and Paris; and we numbered among our bishops and leading clergy, such as Robert de Melun, Stephen Langton, and many others, men who had been eminent professors there.—But the increase of monasteries, in this period, was the principal cause of the increase of knowledge. They added to the number of teachers and students; and multiplied the inducements to pursue, and the opportunities to acquire knowledge, by making books more common and more attainable than they had been. Every convent was a school, wherein the several parts of science were taught: every convent had a library, and its monks were employed in transcribing books: and the government of every convent, to which a considerable degree of power and dignity was annexed, was often bestowed on men, whom peculiar endowments recommended to the office. But there is an obligation due to them, which no time can cancel. They preserved the valuable

valuable remains of Grecian and Roman literature, without which, who can say, that Europe, at this day, would not have been involved in the shades of barbarism?

Notwithstanding these inducements, the progress in science was slow; it was confined, in a great measure, to the monks and clergy, while the barons and the laity, engaged in other pursuits, left the path of literature almost exclusively open to them; the subjects of enquiry were ill-selected; the modes of education were not calculated to diffuse improvement; and the general taste was bad. It is less difficult to implant on a new people the seeds of genuine science which shall fructify, than to reform what has been vitiated.

What was the state of learning in this country, may be applied, with little variation, to others. For now, by the intercourse, I have mentioned, which exchanged and communicated what before might be deemed peculiar to each, in the arts or sciences, an uniformity prevailed, and almost a common measure of improvement. So, to judge from the literary productions of the period, we must pronounce, wherein can be discovered no superior excellence of nation over nation, than what occurs in comparing the several compositions of the same people. They all wrote in the same language, which was Latin; and all drew from the same sources, from the ancients servilely imitated, from the suggestions of a weak superstition, from received opinions which no criticism had discussed, and from nature neither studied nor understood.

The parts of learning which England, and other countries, cultivated, were grammar, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics,

sics, physics, ethics, scholastic divinity, the canon law, the civil law, the common law; arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, and medicine.

As already, in another work,^m I have treated this subject, and some of the branches were so imperfectly understood as to merit no attention, I shall conceive myself dispensed from the discussion of each separate article.

Grammar.

The study of *grammar* seems to have been almost exclusively confined to the Latin tongue, which was the language of the learned in their writings and even in their conversation, of men of busines in their correspondence, of the church in her service, and of the church's pastors in their synods, and sometimes, it seems, even in their instructions to the people. Many of our bishops and clergy, natives of France and Italy, knew nothing of the vulgar tongue of the realm. The colloquial Latin of the period was in many, we may presume, neither impure nor inelegant, to judge from the specimens, which our historians have recorded, but more from their familiar correspondence. Herein are frequent quotations from the best classical writers, and their style and manner are sometimes imitated with success. But, on the whole, their language is unclassical, written with little ease, and with evident marks of a bad education and a vicious taste. Yet how beautiful is this opening of a letter from John of Salisbury to his primate: "Ex quo partes at-
" tigi Cismarinas, visus sum mihi sensisse lenioris auræ
" temperiem, et detumescentibus procellis tempestatum,
" cum gaudio miratus sum rerum ubique copiam, quietem-
" que et lætitiam populorum." John was the most elegant writer,

^m Hist. of Abeil. passim.

writer of the age. But in the primate's letters all is harsh, technical, and disgusting from the unceasing use of scriptural phraseology. And this phraseology even their historians often copied. Latin therefore may be considered as, at that time, almost a living language; whence we are authorised to pronounce, from the character it bore, what were the grammatical purity and the classical taste of the age.

Rhetoric, or the art of speaking eloquently, kept pace with their grammar. Indeed, there must ever be in both the same proportion of excellence. I have met with some examples of their eloquence, that would do honour to any age; but with more that would disgrace the rustic orators of a mob. The reader will recollect the address of the earl of Arundel, spoken in English or in the French tongue, before the pontiff and the Roman cardinals at Sens; also that of Becket, on the same occasion; and several other speeches, in which were the elements of genuine oratory. In all of them I strove to retain the real character of the originals. But this, I apprehend, is not the point in question; for the tongue of the unlettered savage becomes eloquent, when the heart dictates to its utterance. Here is properly meant that factitious elocution, which the schools taught agreeably to the definitions and rules of rhetoric. I have said what its character was.

Of logic, metaphysics, physics, and ethics, I shall only repeat that the first, pretending to follow the rules of Aristotle, who now came into general vogue, degenerated into a wretched sophistry, replete with quibbles and trifling subtleties, yet that it engrossed the attention of the studious and inquisitive, as was seen in Abelard and the sophists of

Logic, metaphysics, physics, &c., &c.

the age : that the *second*, consisting of similar speculations on entity, spirit, matter, substance, accidents, occult qualities, and substantial forms, had no pretensions to the notice of men, whose minds could have appreciated what is really valuable in human pursuits : that the *third*, (as we may collect from Giraldus Cambrensis, who was sent by his sovereign to survey, as a philosopher, the productions and face of Ireland, and from innumerable other instances,) however much studied, contributed nothing to the real knowledge of nature, or benefit of human life : and that the *fourth*, amused with the theory of ideal duties, tended not to enlighten the mind, to amend the heart, or to regulate the morals, by shewing the foundation of their obligations, or by illustrating the nature, limits, and motives, of the various duties of men and citizens.

Scholastic divinity.

But *scholastic divinity* now assumed a more regular form ; and as this form was immediately adopted into the schools of England and of Europe, and still continues to prevail in many foreign seminaries, it becomes proper to observe that Peter, called Lombardus from the country of his birth, archbishop of Paris, and who died about the year 1160, was its father. His most honourable appellation is that of the *master of sentences*, the title of the work he published, exhibiting passages from the ancient fathers, the apparent contradictions of which he strives to conciliate. It contains an entire body of theology, in four books, and each book is divided into many *distinctions*. The first treats of the Trinity, and its attributes : the second of the creation, first of angels, then of the work of the six days, of man and his fall, of grace and free will, of original and actual sin : the

the third of the incarnation, of faith, hope, and charity, of the gifts of the holy spirit, and of the commandments: and the fourth of the sacraments in general and particular, of purgatory, the resurrection, the last judgment, and the state of the blessed.—The author, as I observed, does little else than string together quotations from the fathers, interspersing a thousand ridiculous and unimportant questions, as to us they seem, supported by weak opinions and passages from the scriptures figuratively interpreted. He disapproved much, it is said, of the application which Peter Abeillard and other masters had made of the rules of Aristotle to the doctrines of revelation, and therefore brought forward the authorities rather of the fathers, on which to build the system of christian belief.—His work was received with great applause; and for ages, in the schools of theology, the book of *sentences* became the only text which was read and explained to scholars. Two hundred and forty-four authors, many of them the ablest divines of their respective periods, wrote commentaries on the *sentences*. Even I find one hundred and sixty in the single list of English commentators. But the master was not deemed infallible, not being followed in twenty-six articles; and one proposition which he taught, that *Christ, as man, is not something (non est aliquid,*) was censured by Alexander III. Even Walter of St. Victor dared, soon after his death, to rank him with the four sophists, whom he styles the *labyrinths of France*ⁿ.

The canon law, likewise, a few years before this, had been much extended in its general application, and soon engaged the attention of churchmen. In 1151, Gratian a monk of

canon and
civil law.

ⁿ Fleury t. xv. p. 63, 471.

Bologna, published his *Decretum*, a collection of the opinions, decrees, and canons, of fathers, doctors, popes, and councils. There was no accuracy used in the selection of these documents, and modern criticism has demonstrated their multifarious errors. Compilations of the same nature had before been made, particularly by Isidore in the eighth century, who pretended to have discovered the decrees of sixty early popes, and the canons of ancient councils, nearly all of which are now known to have been forgeries. These Gratian inserted in his *Decretum*. The monstrous compilation, from the approbation it received at Rome, soon obtained an unbounded authority; it was read in all the schools, and became the law of the church. It was on the spurious authority of this work, and of those which had preceded it, that were founded the pretensions of the Roman bishops to universal monarchy, the rise and extension of which I carefully noticed^o.

About the same time, the study of the Roman or *civil law* was revived on the continent, and soon introduced into England. Bologna was the great seminary; and it was the discovery of a copy of the Pandects of Justinian, whose Code, Novellæ, and Institutes had been long read and explained, that is supposed to have given a new ardour to the pursuit. But unfortunately the canon and civil laws were permitted to coalesce into one system. They seemed to afford a mutual support to each other; the professors of both were the same; and he who would rise in the church became a civilian and canonist. Had they been kept separate, the weak pretensions of churchmen to the partial coun-

^o Idem *passim et alii.*

countenance of the state would not have been encouraged ; their own laws when found incompatible, as many of them were, with the good of the community, would have sunk ; and we should not have beheld state religions still standing on their sandy basis.

Ranulph de Glanville, a name often mentioned, chief justiciary under Henry II. published in his reign, or caused to be published, a collection of the *laws and customs* of England. This is the most ancient of our law books extant.— But a circumstance is recorded by Peter of Blois, speaking of archbishop Theobald, which shews the attention which was given to the study of the laws. “ In the house of my master,” he says, “ are several learned men, famous for their knowledge of law and politics, who spend the hours between prayers and dinner, in lecturing, disputing, and debating causes. To us all the knotty questions of the kingdom are referred, which are produced in the common hall, and each one in his order, having first prepared himself, declares, with all the eloquence and acuteness in his power, but without wrangling, what is wisest and safest to be done. And if God suggests the best opinion to the youngest amongst us, we agree to it without envy or detraction.”

On arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, and medicine, the state of which was very imperfect, little can be said, if we except astrology, of all the most idle and fallacious, but which by an ignorant and superstitious people would be ardently pursued. Many predictions, from the face of the heavens, are recorded in the historians ; and the

^r Pet. Bles. ep. 6.

the science, though vain in itself, might help to diffuse some knowledge of the solar system, of the situation of the planets, and their revolutions.

Oxford. The principal seats of learning in England were Oxford and Cambridge, not yet styled *Universities*.—Oxford, which our old writers call Oxenford, whatever may have been its higher antiquity, had Alfred for its regular founder. But from the Danes it suffered much, and from the Normans; nor till the reign of Henry I. who built a palace there in which he sometimes resided, had it risen to any eminence. By Stephen again it was destroyed, and its teachers and scholars dispersed; when the son of Matilda, as the phenix rose from her ashes, gave his patronage and support; and under Richard, whose birth-place it was, the splendour of Oxford, in its buildings and learned teachers, grew, and it could rival the proud seminaries of Paris and Bologna. Again, in the reign of John, from an accidental tumult a disaster happened, which occasioned another dispersion of the professors and scholars. To the number of three thousand they abandoned the place, and retired to Reading and other towns. Soon however, through the powerful mediation of a Roman legate, they returned in greater numbers, and from this time Oxford flourished with increasing glory^q.

Cambridge.

Cambridge seems still to have suffered more from the ravages of the Danes, and the insults of the Normans, and to have lain longer in neglect and obscurity. In 1109, when Henry I. was on the throne, it revived, and the circumstances of the event are distinctly marked by Peter of Blois, a name I have often mentioned. Joffred, abbot of Croyland,

^q *Auctores varii passim.*

land, intending to rebuild his monastery, as I related, sent master Gislebert with three other monks to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge. They were able scholars, skilled in philosophical theorems and other primitive sciences. Every day they went to Cambridge, and having hired a barn gave public lectures. Soon the barn could not contain the great concourse of scholars, when they separated into different parts of the town; and brother Odo, an excellent grammarian and satirist, read grammar, early in the morning, to the boys and younger students, according to Priscian and Remigius his commentator. At one o'clock, brother Terricus, an acute sophist, read Aristotle's Logics to the elder sort, according to the commentaries of Porphyry and Averroes. At three, brother William gave lectures on Tully's rhetoric and Quintilian's institutions. While master Gislebert, who, I should have said, was professor of theology, not understanding English, but very expert in the Latin and French languages, preached to the people on Sundays and holidays. Why the circumstance of master Gislebert's not being understood by the people, qualified him for a preacher, is not explained. "Thus," concludes the historian, "from this small source, which has swelled " into a great river, we now behold the city of God made " glad, and all-England rendered fruitful, by many teach- " ers and doctors issuing from Cambridge, as from a most " holy paradise!" This was written before the end of the same century; but during the war between John and his barons, a few years afterwards, Cambridge was taken and plundered by both parties. It soon recovered.

There

Cathedral and
other schools.

There were also schools annexed to the *cathedrals*, under the immediate inspection of the bishops, in their instructions principally calculated for those who were designed for the church.—We read of eminent teachers in these schools, who were called the *scholastics of the diocese*.—I have mentioned the *conventual* schools, which were numerous, and which widely spread the love of science. Thus does Alexander Necham, in the twelfth century, in lines not inelegant addressed to the abbot of Gloucester, speak of the abbey-school of St. Alban's, where he had been educated, and of its studies.

Quod si forte fores claudat tibi Claustrum
 Martyris Albani sit tibi tuta quies.
 Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
 Annos felices, lætitiaeque dies.
 Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
 Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.
 Hic artes didici, docuique fideliter; inde
 Accessit studio lectio sacra meo.
 Audivi canones, Hipocratem cum Galieno,
 Jus civile mihi displicuisse neges.

That in the chief cities and towns were other schools instituted, can be collected from our historians, particularly in London.

Paris and Bo-
logna.

But Paris, unquestionably, was the most celebrated seat of learning, to which all resorted, at least to complete their studies, whom great talents rendered conspicuous or the love of literary fame inspired. John of Salisbury flying from his country, in the following words describes the majesty of Paris: “ Ubi cum viderem victualium copiam,
 “ lætitiam ”

"lætitiam populi, reverentiam cleri, et totius ecclesiæ
 "majestatem et gloriam, et varias occupationes philo-
 "phantum admiratus.....coactus sum profiteui; felix
 "exilium, cui locus iste datur!"

Bologna was little less illustrious, where the study of the Roman law had been revived ; but which, after the publication of the *Decretum*, was still more frequented. Arnulph of Lisieux was there ; and from that source, I observed, Becket drew those maxims, which other churchmen universally adopted, and in the defence of which he died.

So numerous, as I have described them, in this and other countries, were the schools and seminaries of learning. To what cause then was the ignorance of the age owing ? Not to any want of opportunities in schools or masters, as is obvious. But in the laity of the higher orders, extreme dissipation in war, in rural diversions, and domestic riots, averted the mind from every serious pursuit ; and in the lower ranks, habits of idleness, or the depression of servitude, perpetuated the evil. The clergy only and the monks were not inattentive to improvement : even they pursued science, in all its branches, with an ardour unknown to other times. But I have said what that science was, how imperfect were the views they entertained of it, and how rude the taste, which directed every measure of attainment. With half their toil, how vast comparatively are the heights we ascend ! But the time will be, when posterity shall look back on our proud achievements, and smiling at our insufficiency shall pity us.

* Ep. 24.

General view
of learned
men.

Here would be the place for an account of those eminent men, whose labours served, at least, to keep alive the expiring lamp of science, and for the analysis of their works. But to the biographer does the first rather belong; and the review of works, which have little in them to amuse, would by many be deemed nugatory.—From the conquest to the end of the period I have described, I find a list of about a hundred and forty writers on various subjects, most of whom were monks, and none of whom were laymen.—France, at the same time, and other countries, were equally prolific.—They wrote commentaries on the scriptures, full of allegories and whimsical allusions; tracts on religion and the moral duties, which had little tendency to develope or to enforce the obligations of either; and histories of the lives of saints and of their miracles, which to us only prove that they knew little of the mechanical powers of nature, and that their credulity was unbounded. I shall elsewhere enumerate our principal historians, and state their respective merits.*

The
Polycraticon.

The most curious work of the age is the *Polycraticon* of John of Salisbury, (or *de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum,*) dedicated to Thomas a Becket, while chancellor of England. Herein, with much accuracy, he describes the manners of the great, and with freedom censures their amusements, their want of science, and their unprofitable waste of time. With equal boldness he speaks of churchmen and of the monks, blaming their ambition and their departure from primitive discipline. When, some years back, I read the

Poly-

* See the preface.

Polycraticon, it seemed, I thought, to mark great erudition, being replete with citations from the best classical writers; but it was an erudition not well digested, which a sound judgment did not always guide, and the expression of which was often loose and affected. It has also been observed, that the author not unfrequently loses sight of his own times, describing manners and customs which belonged to the Romans, and not to the inhabitants of Britain in the twelfth century. Notwithstanding these imperfections, the *Polycraticon* is a valuable monument of the literature of the age in which it was written, and of the virtue, the good sense, and the learning of its author.—To the same munificent patron he addressed another work, entitled *Metalogicon*, which is a defence of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, as then taught by the ablest masters, whom he enumerates, and which may be considered as containing the best account of the state of those sciences.

It is time to close this view, which might yet be widely extended, would my limits permit it. But enough, I hope, has been said, to fix the general outline, and to throw light, where it was necessary, on the preceding history. The age, I own, was dark; but it was a darkness arising from the obvious state of things. More light would have led into more error. As it was, the great system became gradually unfolded; effect arose from cause, uniformly and progressively operating; and success and stability were ensured. Besides, the mind that divests itself of modern habits and modern prejudices, and goes back with some good temper into the times, I have described, will discover virtue that it may

Conclusion.

A P P E N D I X L

imitate, learning that it may admire, maxims that it may copy. The man is inequitable, who, possessing but one standard, measures by it all the characters and events of other days, and on their correspondence with it pronounces. It was my wish to be more just.

APPENDIX

A P P E N D I X II.

On LORD LYTTELTON's CHARGES against BECKET and ALEXANDER III. drawn from the Cottonian MS.

His lordship's first charges.—The question stated.—A remarkable circumstance.—Baroniūs vindicated.—Also Christianus Lupus.—The case of the Cottonian MS.—Foliot's letter examined — And rejected as spurious.—It's further contents.—His lordship's charge against Alexander III. — The fact stated: — And the charge proved to be groundless.—Conclusion.

THEY who have read the elaborate *History of the Life of King Henry II.* by George Lord Lyttelton, will have observed, perhaps, with some surprise, how much, on many occasions, our views have varied. And this, I believe, may be accounted for: But it is in delineating the character of Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, that we have been most discordant; and in stating certain parts of his conduct. Here we drew from different sources: the noble lord, from a letter of Foliot, bishop of London, extant in the Cottonian collection of MSS.; and I, from the writers of the primate's life,

life, and the historians of the age.. The authority of these he disregarded ; and I, with as little ceremony, disregarded the letter of Gilbert Foliot. It becomes me now to say, why I did so ; as also to state other matters, which are immediately connected with it. An extract from his lordship's history will fully enounce the subject. Having stated the behaviour of the primate at Clarendon, which he represents as highly censurable, and even as impious, the noble historian observes :^a

His lordship's
first charges.

" In my relation of this transaction there are some particulars of great importance, which differ from *all the accounts* that have been hitherto given by other writers : but they are founded upon the most *unquestionable authority*, upon a letter written by Gilbert Foliot, then bishop of London, to Becket himself, during his exile, concerning this matter. I have before made some use of other passages in this letter, which, among many other epistles to and from the archbishop, has been preserved in a manuscript, which appears to be of that age, in the most valuable collection of our English antiquities, the Cotton library. A very strong presumptive proof of the truth of the facts attested there, relating to Becket's behaviour, and that of the other bishops in the council of Clarendon, is their remaining uncontradicted by the primate himself, who, if he had not been silenced by the testimony of his own conscience, must have loudly complained of such a misrepresentation, capable of being disproved by all his brethren then present, to whom he might have appealed against the calumny invented by Foliot. But he never answered

" answered this letter. — It must also be observed, that
 " Baronius, who, in writing of these times, has transcribed
 " several letters out of the Vatican manuscript of the same
 " collection, and particularly that to which this appears to
 " be an answer, has omitted to transcribe or mention this :
 " and (what is no less remarkable) in the printed edition
 " made at Brussels, from the Vatican manuscript, this is
 " also left out. By which *suppression of evidence*, upon a
 " point so important to the character of one of their great-
 " est saints, we may judge of the *credit due to the clergy of*
" that church in ecclesiastical history."

To repel these three charges, which no laudable spirit dictated, shall be my first care. I will then shew, that the boasted epistle of Foliot is not entitled to the smallest credit, which should weigh on the mind of the impartial and temperate historian.—Could I call the noble writer from his tomb, over which science and the muses have not yet ceased to weep, I would do it most willingly, and with him freely enter on a discussion, to which his name alone has given importance. I should convince him, I think, that he erred. And may not the voice of truth even pierce beyond the grave, and cheer the departed spirits of the wise and good !

While the primate was at Pontigny, in 1166, meditating censures against the king and the suffragan bishops of his diocese, he received a letter from them^b; to which he replied^c. But suspecting from the stile and character of the address, that it was written by Foliot, (which he more than insinuates in this reply,) he also wrote, in great warmth and irritation,

The question
stated.

irritation, another letter to the bishop himself^d, justifying his own conduct, and replying more amply to the charges, which the letter of the suffragans had urged. Foliot answered; and this answer is the important document, which his lordship has brought to light, which he styles a ~~most~~ unquestionable authority, building on it the unfavourable representation he has drawn of the primate's character, though some particulars, he owns, differ from *all the accounts* that other writers had given. Nor is he satisfied himself to possess the treasure, he had found. He brings a weighty charge against all the historians of a church, hitherto peculiarly noted as ecclesiastical writers, singling out two in particular, and imputing to them (what, if true, would blast the fairest fame,) a wilful *suppression of evidence*.

There are extant in many libraries, in this country and abroad, various manuscript collections of the letters which were written, during the controversy between Henry II. and Becket. So much had it interested the general attention of Europe. But fortunately my enquiries, by the circumstances of the present question, have been confined to the Vatican library in Rome, and to that of Sir Robert Cotton, preserved in the British museum. The kind labour of two gentlemen, to whom I feel myself much indebted, has, from both those quarters, supplied me with every necessary information.

The library of the Vatican palace possesses, besides six volumes in MS of inferior note which have reference to the subject, three of distinguished eminence, to which modern writers, on the ecclesiastical events of the twelfth century,

century, have sometimes had recourse. The numbers are 1220, 6024, 6027. But the last is an exact copy, with a few amendments, of 1220, taken in the fifteenth century. The dates of the other two which are originals, but which vary much in the matter they contain, and in their general arrangement, are not clearly ascertained, though they seem coeval with, or not very distant from, the events therein related, and the noble personages, whose correspondence they record. They bear those characters, which the antiquary understands. But as No. 6024 contains much extraneous matter, such as the letters of popes who preceded the controversy, I shall confine myself to No. 1220, and this from another motive, which will soon appear.

This MS (after recording the life of Becket, which has been denominated the *Historia Quadripartita*, from its having been compiled by four different contemporary writers) opens with the various correspondence of those, who were concerned in the controversy. The letters are drawn from five distinct periods which divide the time of the dispute, forming five books, and are in number 529. In the first book, the 126th letter, *Quæ vestro, Pater, in longinqua discussu*, is from the suffragan bishops to the primate: to which, his answer, *Fraternitatis vestræ scriptum*, the 127th letter, immediately succeeds. This should be followed by the other letter, on the same subject, which the primate then addressed to Gilbert Foliot, *Mirandum et vehementer stupendum*; but, by a preposterous arrangement, it is misplaced, being the 108th letter of the same book.—The order of time, in regard to other parts of the correspondence also, has been little attended to: but when letters are without dates, as are most

APPENDIX II.

in this collection, it demands great attention to give to each its proper place. — We must now look for Foliot's reply, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*, to the last letter of the primate, and which the noble lord has extracted from the Cottonian MS.

~~No~~ part of the whole Vatican collection of MSS does it exist.

A remarkable circumstance.

But there is a circumstance regarding it, which must not be suppressed. — To the manuscript is prefixed a double *Index*, the first of which contains the titles of the letters of the first and second books: and the second is the *Index* to the first book only. In this second *Index*, the letter of Foliot, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*, is twice set down, once after the primate's address to him, *mirandum & vehementer stupendum*, which is its proper place, and a second time, after the letter of Becket to the suffragans of Canterbury, *fraternitatis vestrae scriptum*. Notwithstanding this cautious reference, it is not to be found in the body of the collection, in either of the pages to which it is referred, or in any other part of the work. Nor yet has the omission caused any chasm or defect in the pages, which proceed in a regular and uniform order. — The collector, therefore, of the letters, knew of the epistle of Foliot; or he had before him, at least, an *Index* which he copied, and which exhibited its title, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*. They are the first words of the letter. Why then did he not transcribe it into the body of his work? — Undoubtedly, he had it not. And this will be more easily admitted, when it is known, that the same *Index* contains the titles of other letters, for the omission of which there could be no motive, which

which are not to be found in the body of the collection. Only in the fifth part, do the table of contents and the subsequent book exactly tally. Sometimes the *Index* exceeds, and sometimes the body of the work. And this, I believe, is often the case in many manuscript collections. I wish also to observe, that in No. 6024 are many letters, which the MS I have just examined, does not contain, and *vice versa*. Who the collector of either was, does not appear, though some writers have ascribed No. 1220^o to the care of the honest and learned John of Salisbury. For this opinion there is no authority.—In a letter to cardinal Gratian, after the reconciliation with his master, Becket writes thus: “I send you the letters regarding our disputes, which have come to my hands, that if any copies should be wanting, they may be supplied from them.” It appears, therefore, that the collection was made very early.

The Vatican library then gives us nothing, but the mere title of Gilbert Foliot’s letter twice repeated. — And shall Baronius be charged with the suppression of evidence, as the noble lord asserted, because in writing of those times, and transcribing letters from the Vatican, he omitted to mention that of Foliot? Or shall the same crime be imputed to the Brussels editor of the letters, who was admitted to the MSS of the Vatican? Or through them, shall the whole clergy of the Catholic church, as ecclesiastical writers, be wantonly traduced?

Baronius used No. 1220, as a note affixed to the general catalogue of the library declares. But could he thence transcribe a letter, which the manuscript itself did not contain? Or was the circumstance of the *Index*, which possibly he never saw, of

sufficient authority to induce him to make further researches into the libraries of Europe? Baronius was a writer of history, and not a compiler of MSS. Besides, in no part of the voluminous collection, he had before him, is it even hinted that such a letter had been written by Foliot, I mean, in the whole body of the five books. How unjustly has the venerable cardinal been accused!

Allo Christianus
Lupus.

Christianus Lupus (Wolf,) the editor of the printed collection of letters, published at Brussels, in 1682, copied No. 6027 of the Vatican, which itself, as before observed, is a transcript of No. 1220. But No. 6027 does not even contain the double *Index* of 1220, and consequently not the smallest reference to Foliot's letter. The transcriber of the MS discovered the error of the *Index*; and Lupus copied him. Can this be termed a culpable *omission*?

The reflection on our ecclesiastical writers I dismiss, as too narrow and malevolent, to merit a moment's thought.

In the library of the Lambeth palace, is likewise a manuscript collection of the same letters, in number 360, which I had the liberty to examine, and which bears all the marks of antiquity. But the letter of Foliot is not there, though it contains that of the suffragans, and the two replies of the primate.

The case of
the Cottonian
MS.,

We must then recur to the Cottonian collection. Here, I acknowledge, the letter is, and it seems to be authentic. It is equally so with the MS itself, which contains 562 letters, and though without date, appears to be ancient. The division of the books, and the arrangement of materials, correspond, with very little variation, with No. 1220 of the Vatican. How far the contents themselves correspond, I cannot

cannot say; but as there are 33 more letters in this MS, than in that of Rome, some difference there must be, and the circumstance proves that they are not copies from one another. Why a particular letter should be here, that is not in other collections, might be made a question, if all the MSS were not known to vary. But besides the letter of Foliot, the omission of 32 other letters is to be accounted for, which are not in the Vatican collection.

I dare assert, from the silence of Becket, and of John of Salisbury, and of others, who would not have shrunk from the discussion, that the letter of Foliot never came to the primate's hands. It contains nothing, but what, with ease, they could have refuted, as they did the similar charges in the address of the suffragans. But if the letter (from what motives I pretend not to fathom, unless from a consciousness in the writer, that it was palpably libellous) was never sent to Becket, its not having found its way into the Vatican collection, must cease to raise surprise. Still it was written; might be preserved by the author; or be circulated amongst his friends, and surviving him and them, would be admitted into future collections, particularly into such as should be made at home. But whether it exists in any other, than the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, I know not; though from the silence of the noble historian, who made the enquiry, the negative may be fairly presumed.

Being thus in possession of the letter, its *authority*, which his lordship terms *unquestionable*, remains to be examined. Yet it differs, he owns, in *some particulars of great importance*, from *all accounts* before given by other writers; but even

Foliot's letter
examined.

even then, he elsewhere contends, ^g its authority is paramount; and "therefore that, whatever is said by any of those writers, inconsistent therewith, deserves no credit." Yet Foliot, after all, was a fallible man; Foliot had no senses whereby to judge, than what others possessed; and Foliot was the primate's enemy.

The reader will obligingly revert to the letter of the suffragans and its charges,^h and to Becket's double replyⁱ. Thereby he will be competent to form a better judgment of Foliot's letter, of which the noble lord has given us a corrected copy; and my correspondent has supplied me with another. The whole is far too voluminous to be inserted; nor would it, perhaps, be read.

1. After having complained, that the primate had singled him out, on whom to vent his passion, Foliot proceeds to exculpate himself from the charge of having ambitioned the see of Canterbury. This he does in a solemn manner. He then details the circumstances of Becket's own promotion, which he represents as most uncanonical, having been effected, contrary to the wishes of all good men, by the menaces and peremptory mandate of the king. He retorts on him the charge of ambition. "Who does not know," he says, "that you obtained the post of chancellor by the means of many thousand marks, and advancing, with that gale, into the port of Canterbury, you finally reached to its see:" on which, he afterwards observes, all the eyes of his heart had been cast, and to occupy which, when Theobald expired, he had hurried from the Norman coast into England. Yet what deserts, or merit of character, he says,

^g Vol. iv. p. 145.

^h P. 163.

ⁱ P. 170, 175.

says, had he to plead? He then laments the church's liberty, which, by the violence of his election, had received a mortal stab; speaks of his own and his brethren's weakness, who had given way to the commands of the king; and confesses, that what the church and they had since suffered, was a just judgment, which he and others, by a secret impulse of the holy spirit; had, at that time, presaged.

This charge, which Foliot dilates, had been brought by the suffragans, and to it the primate had given two explicit replies, referring the bishops to their own consciences, and to the facts which attended his election, known to the court of the young king, and to all who were present. On the faith of many contemporary historians, I stated the other leading circumstances. But John of Salisbury, a name which, at any time, must carry as great weight as that of Foliot, has himself, in examining the letter of the suffragans, refuted this very charge. He writes to Becket. "The bishop of London," he observes, "as is known to all men, was the first author of the schism, and prompted by the ambition of *archiepiscopising*, as many suspected, he moved and fomented the discord." "Nor do I heed the lies," he goes on, "which he dared to advance concerning your election, for I was myself present, and heared, and saw. *He alone* was not pleased with your promotion, having himself, as it then evidently appeared, and does appear, aspired to the dignity of your see. But his opposition soon ceased, while many arraigned his ambition and his insolence. Whatever, therefore, might be the thoughts of his mind, of which God is the judge, he was amongst the first who voted for you, and his applause,

" applause, when; it was ended, was almost the most
 " strongly marked."—Whether Becket paid many thousand marks to be made chancellor, I know not. But it seems not probable; and the fact, if true, reflects disgrace on the king.

2. Foliot portrays, in charming colours, the prosperous condition of the church and state, from the time of the king's accession, when, on the promotion of Becket, a sad reverse ensued. Strife rose on strife, he says, which a prudent conduct might have checked, and that led the way to the measure, which the king adopted, of collecting and enforcing the royal customs. "The observance of which," he proceeds, "when required from me and the suffragan bishops of your see, because in some of them the liberty of the church of God seemed to be oppressed, we refused our assent, unless to those things, which, saving the honour of God and our own order, could be complied with. The king demanded our absolute submission. But, by no means, could that be obtained from us, which was adverse to the liberty of the church and the fealty due to our lord the pope. On this account, assemblies were summoned, councils were convoked. What was done at London, and again at Oxford, it is needless to repeat. But the transactions of Clarendon I will bring to your recollection, where, for three successive days, the whole business was, to draw from us an absolute promise of submitting to the customs and dignities of the realm. For there we stood with you, whom we deemed to stand firm in the spirit of God. We stood immovable, we
 " stood

* Ed. Bruxel. l. i. ep. 161.

" stood unabashed, we stood to the ruin of our fortunes,
 " to the torture of our bodies, to submit to exile, even to
 " meet the sword, should the Lord so permit. What father
 " had ever children more concordant with his wishes?
 " More unanimous? *We were all shut up in one room.* But
 " on the *third day*, when the great men and the nobles of
 " the land were enraged to madness, suddenly we heared
 " an alarm; and entering *our chamber*, without their
 " cloaks, and with threatening arms, they thus addressed
 " us; " Hear, you who despise the statutes of the realm,
 " who refuse the orders of your sovereign." These hands,
 " these arms, these bodies which you behold, are not ours:
 " they are the king's, at this instant, ready to be employed
 " to avenge his injuries, as his will, or even his nod, shall
 " direct. Whatever his command may be, we shall deem
 " it most just. Be again advised; comply, while you may,
 " that you may escape a danger, which soon will be ine-
 " vitable." — " What now was done? Who fled? Who
 " turned his back? Whose courage sank? Your letter re-
 " proaches, that, in the day of battle, we retreated; that
 " we did not advance against the enemy; that we did not
 " oppose ourselves, as a rampart, before the house of God.
 " Let him judge between us: let him judge, for whose
 " sake we stood; for whose sake, we were not bent by the
 " menaces of the great: let him judge, who fled, who was
 " the deserter. Surely, that noble and resolute man,
 " Henry of Winchester, stood firm, and Nigel of Ely, and
 " Robert of Lincoln, and Hilary of Chichester, and Jocelin
 " of Salisbury, and Bartholomew of Exeter, and Richard
 " of Chester, and Roger of Worcester, and Robert of

“ Hereford, and Gilbert of London. But a precursor still
“ was wanting. They therefore, esteeming worldly things
“ as filth for Christ and the church, exposed themselves
“ and what was theirs. Let truth be spoken: let that be
“ presented before the sun, which was done in our pre-
“ sence, and under our eyes. The general of the army
“ turned his back; the leader of the field fled. My lord
“ of Canterbury, *withdrawing from the society and the delibe-*
“ *ration of his brethren*, and conferring some time apart,
“ returned soon to us, and abruptly spoke thus: —*It is my*
“ *master's will that I forswear myself; and I now submit to it,*
“ *and incur perjury, afterwards to do penance, as I shall be*
“ *able.*—At the words we stood amazed, and with eyes fixed
“ on one another, sighing we lamented the fall of a man,
“ whose virtue and firmness we had been taught to admire.
“ With the Lord there is no yea and no; and we had
“ hoped that his disciple could not have been thus shaken.
“ When the head languishes, soon does the evil reach the
“ other members. He complying with the demand, and
“ on the word of truth promising, without reservy, faith-
“ fully to obey in future the royal dignities and the ancient
“ customs of the realm, by the recollection of the oldest
“ men publicly brought forward and committed to writing,
“ then, in virtue of obedience, commanded us to bind
“ ourselves by a similar obligation. Thus did strife cease,
“ and concord was restored to the priesthood and the state.”

Such is the account of this extraordinary transaction, delivered in a pomp of words, to which the candour of honest truth is little used. But the historians of the age, some of whom, Roger Hoveden and Radulphus de Diceto, were, probably,

probably, from their situation, present on the occasion, have told another story, which, hardly in a single instance, accords with this. I refer the reader to my own statement of the event¹. — Nor is it even alluded to in the whole collection of letters, many of which bear reference to the transactions of Clarendon, written some of them by men who condemned the general conduct of the primate. All historians, all writers who recorded the events of the day, and what incidents had preceded it, uniformly speak of the *defection* of the bishops, and of the *firmness* of Becket. The instance in the council of his complying with the king's demands, I related; but that was not the profane weakness, which Foliot has brought to light. Yet it happened, as he states it, in a public assembly, or at least, before the eyes and in the hearing of all the bishops, who attended. And Foliot alone shall retain it on his memory? — And the bishops shall never attempt to charge the primate with it, when, in irritation of mind, they blamed his conduct, and their own, in the eyes of Europe, demanded an apology? — And the contemporary writers, and their immediate followers, in collecting events and in recording them, shall not have heared of so glaring an occurrence, as the fall of Becket in a public meeting? — They all relate a less striking weakness. — And John of Oxford, the president of the council, Henry's chaplain, and other friends to the king, and the king himself, in their various correspondence and public conferences, shall never disclose the notorious circumstance? — In the breast of Foliot it remained locked up, effaced from all other recollection, till, two years afterwards, on a particular

¹ P. 76.

occasion, he shall deem it expedient to reveal it! The meeting of Clarendon was in 1164, and in 1166 Gilbert wrote his letter.—But the noble lord has allowed the general silence and the contrary assertions, in competition with which, he maintains, that the *single authority* of Foliot is *most unquestionable*, and that their narrations, when inconsistent with it, deserve no credit. In what circumstances then, does the testimony of one man weigh thus heavy?

According to the rules of the soundest criticism, whereby the authority of writers is ascertained, then only does the voice of *one* preponderate, when his competitors were not coeval with the events they relate, or were distant from the scene, or their credulity, or notorious inattention, often led them into errors, or they wrote under an influence, which might cloud the understanding, and pervert the judgment. But this will not apply to the men, whose honest page stands in direct opposition to the frothy tale of Foliot. Rather himself becomes suspicious, for he was Becket's enemy, and he wrote under the additional influence of a provoked and resentful mind.

But how happened it; if Foliot was in possession of a fact, which could have for ever sunk the character of the primate, that he still suppressed it at Northampton, when he spoke, and vigorously arraigned his conduct; and at Sens before the pontiff; and in the various letters that he wrote, and particularly in that of the suffragans, penned by himself, with a direct view to carry every charge of weight home to the primate's breast? This address was written but a short time, we know, before the letter in question. Or could it be, that the suffragans themselves should not have insisted

on its insertion, had Foliot, from an unaccountable delicacy, seemed disposed to with-hold it? Nor did they mention it in a letter they wrote to the pope, which I quoted^m.—To reconcile such difficulties is impossible. I would rather say, that Gilbert invented the shameless story; but that, in the consciousness of it, he never sent the letter, and therefore that it never reached the primate's hands. That he could depart from truth, John of Salisbury, as we have seen, did not hesitate to declare in regard to another charge, he had produced in the letter of the suffragans.

But Foliot's own statement, I now discover, on the very face of it, destroys its own credibility, and compels me to believe, that he was not the author of the letter. His name shall thus be rescued from the infamy, to which, I thought, it lay exposed. In the extract I have given, he speaks of the bishops being *shut up in one room* at Clarendon, and of *a third day of the meeting*, and of the nobles violently *entering their chamber*, and of the primate's *withdrawning*.—But none of these things happened at Clarendon. The bishops were not shut up; the meeting lasted but two days; the nobles did not enter their chamber; and the primate did not withdraw. To the subsequent meeting at Northampton every circumstance minutely applies. The reader will recur to itⁿ.—What then shall be said? Still shall it be maintained, that the authority of Foliot can even invert these facts, which historical evidence has stated? Or shall it be admitted, that, in the space of two years, his recollection had confounded the distinct events of the two meetings, which, at once must undo the whole credit of the man? Or rather, shall

And rejected
as spurious,

shall it not be admitted as most probable, that Foliot did not write the letter; but that it was composed by some enemy of Becket, probably after the events had ceased to be recent, who confounded the transactions of Clarendon and Northampton, two meetings a few months distant, and who, on the circumstance, in which all agreed, of the primate's weak promise once made to observe the customs, from ignorance or malevolence built up the varnished tale of premeditated perjury, with which he dared to load the memory of Becket? This conclusion, I maintain, is better founded than any other. It overthrows, indeed, the authority of the letter: but it saves from the charge of a direct falsehood, the fame of Foliot, and, on the minds of the dispassionate, it leaves unimpeached the virtuous, but mistaken, conduct of the English primate.

The circumstance of its being admitted on the *Index* of the Vatican MS, from some other copy, and into the Cottonian collection, without affecting the real authenticity of the latter, remains easily accounted for. Also, on this supposition, it becomes obvious, why the collectors of the Vatican MS, in particular, did not insert a letter, which the primate and John of Salisbury had never seen, and which they could not leave to the care of those, whom the general correspondence might thereafter interest. The letter, then, *multipliciter & diffusam talem materiam*, which the noble writer of *Henry the Second's Life*, has drawn from the Cotton library, I pronounce, never to have been written by Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London.

The evidence before me is such, as to command my conviction. To me, therefore, the authority of the letter is

at an end, and its contents merit not another thought: but others may wish to know what they are. — The writer proceeds to censure Becket's attempt to leave the kingdom; and he speaks of the king's astonishment, and of the gentleness of his behaviour, when the winds compelled him to return. He then enters on the transactions of Northampton, relating the complaint preferred by the mareschal, which was the occasion of the summons, and of the consequent charges.—But here again he departs from the statement given by other historians; and having mentioned the primate's ready acquiescence in the first sentence pronounced on him, he enters into a laboured discussion to prove, from the canons of the church, that he ought *not* to have submitted to the verdict of a lay tribunal, though he knew what the statutes of Clarendon had ordained; and some lines after he contradicts his first assertion, and establishes the power of the crown to decide in all feudal cases. We have language here, on the privileges of the church, as high as Becket ever uttered: but I think, I discover passages which Foliot could not have written.—He then reprehends his inconsistency in refusing to plead to the last charge, when by it he could have incurred no danger; and he dares to extol the king's gentle *comportment*, when, on the last day of the meeting, the primate entered the castle, bearing his cross. Now could Foliot, I think, have said this. He closes this account, by relating the general circumstances of Becket's escape into Flanders.

The writer next animadverts on that part of the primate's address, which exhorts the bishops even to expose their lives, if necessary, in the church's cause, and he sarcastically

cally dwells on his own flight, as the laudable example which himself had set them ! — But he shews, that there is even no cause for contention, since religion, and morality, and the faith of the church are not concerned. The dispute was with the king, regarding certain customs, which, in the time of his predecessors, he asserts, were observed, and on the present observance of which he insists. “ These ‘‘ customs,’ the writer says, “ the king did not ordain ; “ but, as the whole antiquity of the realm attests, he found “ them established.” — With what face could Foliot have written this, after the praise he had just given to the firmness of the bishops in opposing those customs, and the heavy censure passed on the supposed compliance of the primate ? — He goes on to instance certain examples of episcopal moderation, the imitation of which he recommends to Becket, if he hoped to surmount the king’s resolution, rather than the use of censures, which the most prudent measures should direct. He describes the extensive power of the king, and, at the same time, his lowly and christian humility ; and he dissuades strongly from every violent measure, which would be attended with real danger to the church. The king, he says, if gently dealt with, was himself disposed to revoke the royal customs, when it could be done with security and his own honour. The intemperate zeal of Becket obstructed every design.

He concludes with repeating the suffragans appeal to Rome, and with advice, which may moderate the primate’s zeal, and prepare the way for the return of peace and concord.

The further view of this letter has confirmed my opinion, that it was not written by Foliot. Even the style seems to differ from any thing he has left behind him; and I can almost pronounce, from my familiarity with the language of the age, that it is not the production of the twelfth century. It rather seems the laboured effusion of some frothy rhetorician. The date of the Cottonian MS is not decided. I shall not, however, insist on surmises, which have often led to error.

The noble historian has yet another charge, which it is my duty to examine. — In the same Cottonian collection of letters, he found one from Alexander, the Roman bishop, to Roger archbishop of York, wherein he tells him that, in compliance with the king's petition, he permits prince Henry to be crowned in England, and commands that prelate, when called on by the king, to perform the ceremony. — From this circumstance, the noble lord draws a heavy accusation against the pontiff: “A more scandalous instance of double dealing can no where be found,” he says: “And it will be seen that his holiness, in the progress and consequences of this business, went still greater lengths, with the most astonishing impudence of dissimulation.” — Observing, likewise, that this letter was not in the Brussels edition, he again censures Christianus Lupus, and through him the Vatican collector, for a second suppression of evidence.

But the letter is nowhere extant in any manuscript of the Vatican; consequently, Christianus Lupus, as I before remarked, is free from blame. He could not copy what

His lordship's
charge against
Alexander III

^a Vol. ii. p. 541.

to him did not exist.—His lordship mentions, that the Bodleian library contains this letter. I, therefore, infer, that the boasted epistle of Foliot is not there; or the information would not have been withheld; another circumstance tending to destroy its authenticity.—We will now see, whether the letter of Alexander, *Quanto per charissimum filium*, can establish a better claim than that of Gilbert Foliot.

The fact
stated.

After the death of Theobald, but before the appointment of Becket to the see of Canterbury, Henry first conceived the design of crowning the young prince, and lest Roger, archbishop of York, whom he then hated, should contend for the honour, he obtained a bull from Rome, which empowered him to appoint any prelate of the realm to perform the ceremony.^{P.}—Yet of the year 1165, the Vatican MS has a letter, dated from Montpellier,^q as Alexander was returning to Rome, which, at the request of that same Roger, grants him permission to crown the king, as his predecessors, it says, had anciently done. This is not true; but the measure, it seems, had no reference to prince Henry.—In 1170, the king resumed his former design, and as Becket was absent, to whose see the privilege appertained, he applied again to Rome, sending an embassy, at the head of which was John of Oxford^r. By his means, it is pretended, the letter or bull was obtained, which the Cottonian MS has preserved. On the return of the ministers, indeed, it was publicly rumoured, that the pontiff had consented, and that a bull was given^s. This second application to Rome evinces, that Henry did not value any prior grant.

Roused

^P l. v. ep. 45. ^q l. i. ep. 10. ^r P. 217. ^s l. iv. ep. 44. l. v. ep. 24. 25.

Roused by the news, which tended to affect the honour of his see, the primate wrote to Alexander, mentioning the report, and urging him to do justice¹. And then it was, that letters came from Rome, addressed to Roger of York and to all the bishops of the realm, forbidding them, under pain of censures, to do any act against the dignity of the church of Canterbury, or to presume to crown the young king². The letters, with an inhibition from himself to the same effect, were sent by Becket into England³. But the ceremony of the coronation, notwithstanding, was performed by Roger, and he and others were, afterwards, excommunicated for the fact, and for their disobedience to the mandates of his holiness.—These deeds are all extant in the Vatican and Cottonian collections.

Could it now be proved, that Alexander, at the request of the king, empowered the archbishop of York to crown prince Henry, and in the same month, as the dates bear testimony, forbade the same, in compliance with the urgent prayer of Becket, the charge of *duplicity*, with which the noble lord has loaded his memory, he will have justly incurred. But the letter or bull to the archbishop, in the Cottonian M S, was not written by the Roman pontiff.

1. No one, at the time, pretended to have seen it. It was *rumoured* only, that the pontiff had consented to the measure. “But what wise man,” observes John of Salisbury, “will give credit to their assertions, unless they produce the *authentic and original writings*?” They did not produce them.

And the charge
proved to be
groundless.

2. Alexander, whose character I described as firm and upright, was incapable of such bare-faced duplicity, which

¹ Ep. 24.

² I. iv. ep. 41, 42.

³ Ep. 44.

⁴ I. v. ep. 18.

the most common observation would have detected, and have censured.

3. When Roger and the other bishops, after the coronation, were publicly charged with disobedience to the papal mandates, which forbade the measure, and were afterwards suspended, they produced no bull in their justification, nor pretended that it had been granted.

4. Alexander himself addressed three different letters to them^x, in one of which he says: “But you, without the primate’s consent, presumed to give your ministry or your approbation to the coronation of the prince, while you were prohibited by the authority of the holy see and by my letters”; and he denounces his censures on them. The bishops, one of whom was Roger, made no reply. They submitted to the sentence. Astonishing, truly, must have been Alexander’s impudence of dissimulation, if, in the consciousness of his own duplicity, he could thus have provoked resentment and the reproach of base prevarication. Nor, on this supposition, was the forbearance of the bishops less wonderful.

5. When, soon afterwards, Becket issued the censures of Rome against Roger and the bishops of London and Salisbury, for having crowned the prince; though they were loud against the intemperate measure, as were their friends, still not a word was said concerning the boasted grant from Alexander.

6. At Fretval, where the king and Becket were conciled, while they were engaged in conversation, the primate entered on the subject of the late coronation, “which,” he

^x Ep 66, 67, 68.

he said, "had been done in violation of the rights of Canterbury, and by the usurpation of the archbishop of York, who, with a blind and rash ambition, had performed the ceremony, contrary to ancient usage, and contrary to the *prohibition of Rome*."—If ever, now will the Cottonian bull be produced. But Henry produced it not, though he was willing to justify his conduct. He produced *another bull*, that which, I said, he had obtained, after the death of Theobald, in order to check the interference even of the archbishop of York, and which empowered him to use the ministry of any prelate of his realm. Need I proceed?

¶. But the noble lord maintains, "that Henry was restrained from speaking of it to Becket, by the *particular defire and injunction of the pope*." — Had the Cottonian MS contained any document, which could establish this *defire* or *injunction*, some weight might be allowed to it: but, extraordinary as it may seem, no vestige of it is there, or in *any work that was ever written*. I except the noble author's own *history*.—I will also observe that, in stating his account of the conference between Henry and the primate, his lordship has suppressed a fact, which had a tendency to weaken his favourite theory. Also, in the copy he has given of the *bull* from the Cotton MS, he makes Alexander say to the archbishop of York, "because, *quoniam*, it " (the right of coronation) belongs to your office;" whereas in the original the word is *quantum*, that is, "as," "it belongs." Obviously, a different sense. That no alteration was made, with any sinister view, I prefer not to

believe.

suggest. But I could adduce, if urged to it, other instances of uncandid representation, to which his lordship has descended, in describing the controversy between Henry and the primate, and in treating ecclesiastical concerns.

But, if I reject the bull as *spurious*; it will be asked, by whom it was written; or by what means it found its way into the Cottonian collection?

It was written by John of Oxford, or by those sent on the embassy, who were, at the same time, the authors of the rumour, which I mentioned. But I am inclined to think that it was never delivered to the bishops or to the king, at least, in such a manner, as to make them believe it was authentic. On more occasions than one, it is insinuated in the general collection of letters, that Henry's design was to mortify the primate, and that he pleaded no authority. That the bull did not come from Rome, I think, I have shewn.—How it found its way into the Cottonian M S, is not my concern to investigate. But allow it only to have been written, and its insertion into the M S S, which were collected in this country, will cause little difficulty. It is not, however, I think, in that of Lambeth. And why the Roman collections should not have it, may be easily understood.

Conclusion.

Thus, I trust, I have proved, to the conviction of every candid man, that the *letter* of Foliot, and the *bull* of Alexander, are not such documents, as the critical and prudent historian should have relied on. I have proved more than that. The character of Becket is then relieved from the foul aspersion of *wilful perjury*, and that of Alexander from the charge of *duplicity* and *impudent dissimulation*. With what

what incaution were the accusations made ! The easy labour of a few researches, and some reflection on common characters and obvious facts, would have led to sufficient detection, and have saved the mind from error. I have thrown down the basis, on which the noble lord had raised one part of his specious structure. This must fall. And who shall regret, that the temple of Truth be embellished and enlarged, while the materials of error be every where overthrown ? They will mix with the mouldering battlements of despotism and superstition, and serve to enrich the soil, which they had so long encumbered and disgraced.

T H E E N D.

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